

# New Watergate Dimension?

By THOMAS B. ROSS  
Chicago Sun-Times Service

A fake passport, produced by the Central Intelligence Agency for former White House consultant E. Howard Hunt Jr., was being carried by one of the suspects at the time of the Watergate break-in, investigators have disclosed.

The passport, made out in the name of "Edward Hamilton" — the same initials as Hunt's — reportedly was found on Frank Sturgis when he was arrested at Democratic National Committee headquarters in June.

The disclosure of the passport yesterday added a dimension to the case: The possibility that current CIA employees were involved in political espionage. The CIA has repeatedly assured Congress that its fake documents are kept under tight control.

Hunt and several of the others under indictment have acknowledged they once worked for the CIA, but have asserted they were no longer in its employ at the time of the Watergate incident.

Hunt's wife was killed in the United Air Lines crash in Chicago on Friday. Her purse was found to contain more than \$10,000 in cash. Police reported that one of the bills bore the written inscription: "Good Luck. FS" — the same initials as Sturgis'.

Sturgis has never been identified as a direct employe of the CIA, but was known to have had extensive agency

contacts in Miami. An ex-Marine, he fought with Fidel Castro in Cuba and was rewarded with the gambling casino concession in Havana after Castro won.

But the two men had an early falling out, and Sturgis went over to the Cuban exile community in Miami. He was once arrested on a boat off British Honduras in what he described as an attempted "commando raid" on Cuba.

A soldier of fortune, he is believed to have used several pseudonyms besides that of Edward Hamilton. He was born Frank Fiorini in Norfolk, Va., but adopted the name of his stepfather.

Hunt was hired as a White House consultant by Charles W. Colson, special counsel to President Nixon. He openly declares in his Who's Who listing that he has operated under a number of pseudonyms — Robert Dietrich, John Baxter and Gordon Davis.

The federal indictment charges that Hunt was present on the night of the Watergate break-in, but left before the police arrived and apprehended the five persons inside the Democratic headquarters. He was linked to the case through a \$25,000 cash fund, a campaign contribution to the Committee for the Re-election of the President.

Investigators said the fake passport and the possible CIA role in the break-in would probably be explored at the trial scheduled to begin next month.

The CIA is prohibited by law from conducting any operations within the United States and, of course, is proscribed

from taking part in domestic politics. It is known, however, to have been involved with the Cuban community and with other anti-Communist exile groups in U.S. cities.

The investigators said they did not have a plausible theory as to why Mrs. Hunt was carrying so much cash.

STATINTL

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*THROUGHOUT*  
*FOLDER*

6/24/98

8 DEC 1972

# 'Cold war coalition mobilizes for Demos' committee meeting

By RICK NAGIN

NEW YORK, Dec. 7 — With what is certain to be a stormy Democratic National Committee meeting only two days away, the right-wing, cold-war forces in the Democratic Party are stepping up their drive to crush the rank-and-file movement which was heading toward political independence from the boss-owned major parties.

These cold-war forces have formed a "Coalition for a Democratic Majority" (CDM) and taken out full-page ads in newspapers which appeared today.

The organizers and sponsors who signed the ad comprise primarily forces under the leadership of Senators Henry Jackson and Hubert Humphrey, AFL-CIO president George Meany and the cold-war intellectuals of the Socialist Party-Democratic Socialist Federation.

These leading forces in the coalition have succeeded in winning over a few people associated prominently with the McGovern candidacy, such as Michael Novak, the liberal theologian who wrote speeches for Shriver, and William DuChessi, secretary-treasurer of the Textile Workers of America who headed the Labor for McGovern organization in New York.

## Labor names

The new committee is also obviously trying to give itself a labor tone as it lists among its sponsors a number of labor officials, mostly noted for their class-collaborationist or racist policies.

However, the bulk of the signers have long or close association with cold-war activities. These include people with CIA ties such as Zbigniew Brzezinski and Norman Podhoretz; Vietnam war propagandists John Roche and Eugene V. Rostow, and Harvard's cold-war intellectuals, Daniel Bell, Seymour Martin Lipset and Nathan Glazer.

Among the right-wing social democrats, several of whom have close ties to Meany, are Bayard Rustin, A. Philip Randolph and Penn Kemble, who is the CDM's executive director.

The CDM is also being led by Ben Wattenberg, a Jackson aide, and Max Kampelman, a Humphrey associate.

In the statement accompanying the ad, the CDM makes it clear that there should be no change in

U.S. foreign policy or racist practices. The Vietnam war is not mentioned in the statement but, in an oblique reference, is characterized as "past miscalculations and failures of policy." Despite these "misfortunes," no change is indicated in the policies of "United States involvement in international affairs."

The CDM also adopts the Nixon-

Meany racist line on job quotas, which it indicates violate "the principle of individual merit without regard to inherited status."

"...No single group or class enjoys a special moral status," it says, declaring itself to be for ending "discrimination against some" so long as this does not involve "recourse to discrimination against others."



# HARD TIMES

STATINTL

## SPOOKING THE SPOOKS: the victor marchetti story by james otis

"I'm a scoutmaster" says Victor Marchetti. He is, in fact, more than a scoutmaster.

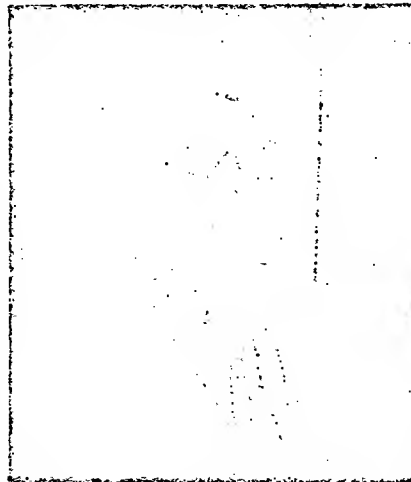
Until 1969 he was executive assistant to the deputy director of Central Intelligence, Admiral Rufus Taylor. More recently, he has been the subject of a legal case which could crack open the darkest recesses of America's clandestine government. "I am the kind of a guy who manages Little League teams," he goes on. "Well, my scouts and ball players began to grow up on me and they became draft age. They let their hair grow; they changed. Now I know these were 'good boys, and they started to get to me. They began saying, 'I'm not going to go and get shot in Vietnam, because it's an unjust war.' " Doubts, gnawing doubts about Vietnam and the CIA's role in foreign affairs. He says that he saw himself becoming a lifer, an intelligence bureaucrat, and he "didn't want to play the game any longer." After 14 years as a spy for America, Marchetti quit.

That was 1969. Now, in August, 1972, in Washington, D. C., he sat in a Chinese restaurant known as a place frequented by CIA agents. Far from the taciturn and glamorous killer, Marchetti looked stolidly middle class, of conservative mien and talkative manner. As he spoke, he furtively sized up the occupants of the other tables and mentally chronicled the comings and going of all patrons, presumably out of habit. Did he think the interview was being bugged? "It's not beyond them," he replied, his face a mixture of edginess and resignation.

It had not always been like this. He had left the agency on the best of terms, his boss assuring him that he "had a home to come back to." "In the first year I was away, it was just as

if I was at the Agency. I was going to dinner parties . . . we'd sit around and talk. In fact, I saw as much of Agency people as I did when I was working."

But somewhere along the line he got the notion that he wanted to blow the whistle on the CIA: "I would go down to a shopping center and walk around. For the first time in 15 years, I began to look at a check-out clerk as a human being, instead of a check-out clerk. I got interested in people and my ideas about the Agency became firmer and sharper, and I began to



*Marchetti: Blowing the whistle*

focus on precisely what was bothering me."

Victor Marchetti decided to write a book. While the process of writing can be a solitary and private experience, he could scarcely expect to scribble away, merrily exposing his former employers, without it coming to their horrified attention. True, the CIA's record has been afflicted with tragicomic vicissitudes, but it can presumably keep tabs on its own.

Within weeks of his book outline being shown to various New York publishers, the CIA obtained a copy through a source within the industry. It immediately sought, and received, a court injunction against any further revelation of the book's contents. The order additionally restrains Marchetti from even discussing the as yet un-

written book with his literary agent, publishers, or wife. It is an injunction of unprecedented scope—never before has the government gone to court to prevent former employees from speaking or writing. At the heart of the case lies a basic conflict between the First Amendment guarantees of free speech and the government's interest in keeping a lid on its various clandestine—and often illegal—activities. Provoked by the wave of "whistle-blowing" attendant on Daniel Ellsberg's release of the Pentagon Papers, the conflict arises because of official activity which offends the moral sensibilities of rather ordinary, and very loyal, public servants like Victor Marchetti. If the Supreme Court backs Marchetti's right to talk, it could open a floodgate for a torrent of revelations about the nefarious activities of American spy agencies. If it upholds the CIA, it could cut down on the trickle of information which currently keeps the Invisible Government on its guard.

Aside from the broader implications of the case, the CIA has good reason to fear what Marchetti himself might reveal about his erstwhile employers. He is unquestionably the highest-ranking intelligence official to threaten exposure of the Agency's more questionable endeavors. He knows where the skeletons are hidden. Indeed, Marchetti is given credit for developing the surveillance techniques which led the CIA to discover Russian missiles in Cuba and thereby provoked the 1962 Missile Crisis.

As Marchetti tells the story, "After I was with the Agency for five or six years, I was assigned to the Cuban problem. This was exciting and personally very satisfying because another fellow and I evolved a strange analytical working tool which we called crateology. With it we were able to identify the merchant ships that were arms carriers. Over a period of time, since the Soviets were very methodical, we began to learn which crate contained a SAM 2 and which crate

STATINTL

# 3,000 in Cleveland hear Angela

Special to the Daily World

CLEVELAND, Nov. 13 — Angela Davis warned of continued attacks by the Nixon Administration in the next four years against peoples fighting for liberation abroad and at home, in an address before 3,000, mostly youth, in the Allen Theater downtown.

The enthusiastic meeting was sponsored by the student government at Cleveland State University as the first in its Public Lecture Series for the 1972-73 season.

So great was the interest in Miss Davis' speech that the lecture had to be moved from the campus auditorium to the spacious Allen Theater. Busloads of students from Ohio State, Athens, Kent State and a half dozen other colleges and universities added to the army of Cleveland college and high school students, approximately 85 percent Black, who gave Miss Davis a rousing reception and applauded her advocacy of socialism as the fundamental answer to capitalist oppression and racism.

Many workers took off from work to attend the mid-day meeting, held the day after elections.

Proudly referring to the Communist Presidential ticket of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, Davis told of how, had they been elected, she would have been appointed Attorney General; how she would have gathered all the FBI, CIA, police and military intelligence dossiers and prison records, fingerprints, etc., for the "greatest bonfire celebrating freedom" this country had ever seen. An ovation greeted this statement.

Miss Davis appealed for a national movement to free all political prisoners, and called for a renewed struggle against the

danger of fascism and the pollution of racism which feeds it.

Racism and its practices, she pointed out, are treated as crimes in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and she urged

similar laws in the U.S. She reminded her audience that the war in Vietnam was a racist war by U.S. imperialism and the fight against it was an integral part of the fight against racism in the U.S.

## *Our readers say--*

### WARNING AGAINST PROVOCATION

The Communist Party of Illinois has released the following statement:

A number of inquiries have been made to our office, pertaining to letters that have been received by people, charging Jay Schaffner, a leader of the YWLL in Illinois, Sylvia Kushner, a leader of the Chicago Peace Council, and Gil and Robbilee Terry, owners of the Guild Book Shop and distributors of progressive and Marxist literature, as FBI and police agents. These letters have all been mailed from Berwyn, Illinois, and are signed "Chicagoland Committee to Expose Police Spies, Informants and Provocators."

It is no accident that the four above-mentioned people have been selected, against whom lies and slander are being spread. These people are activists and some are leaders in the peace movement, and the youth movement, in the struggle against racism, constantly exposing red-baiting and anti-communism.

The sponsors of this provocation do not have the guts to identify themselves, but feel free to spread falsehoods and remain anonymous. We declare that these letters could be the work of racist, rightist agent-provocateurs, the CIA, FBI or Red Squad agents, aimed at discrediting and sowing suspicion against some of the most active freedom fighters.

This is a revival of methods used on a widespread scale during the McCarthy period. The Illinois Communist Party calls attention to these shameful and sneaky attacks, and urges all decent people to be on guard against such provocations.

—JACK KLING, co-chairman,  
Communist Party of Illinois

8 Oct 1972

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*Author's Query*

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I am interested in obtaining written reports of personal experiences of civilians involving the Central Intelligence Agency. These will be published, with permission of the contributors, as part of an anthology concerned with the extent to which the C.I.A. is involved with civilian life. ✓

L. G. PEDERSEN  
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Chapel Hill, N. C. 27514.

STATINTL

# THE GOVERNMENT IS WATCHING

Is there anything the police don't want to know?

by Thomas Powers

STATINTL

Many Americans take their notions of life in a police state from George Orwell's *1984*, a bitter vision of unrelenting institutional malevolence. The state, Orwell feared, would intrude into every corner of life with the purpose of direct and total control. Every room would be wired for sound, every move scanned by cameras, every acquaintance a potential informer, every thought a potential crime. Orwell's vision was based on certain harsh realities: the Germany and Russia of the 1930s and 1940s, and the growing technology of surveillance available to policemen. He assumed, with reason, that police would do it if they could do it, and foresaw a time, quickly approaching, when nothing would be technically beyond them. Orwell was a man who brooded, working his thoughts over in his mind for years, and the visionary force of *1984* has left its readers with the assumption that the police state of the future must include midnight knocks on the door, interrogation by torture, and pistol bullets in the back of the head.

Much of what Orwell envisioned for the world is now fact, but veiled and muted fact, with the effect that even in this country police activity which would have seemed inconceivable in earlier decades now strikes many otherwise skeptical people as prudent watchfulness, at worst only trivial and overcautious, and perhaps even necessary. Everyone knows vaguely that the FBI keeps an eye on things, that local police departments watch radicals, that even the

Army for a while was keeping files on people it considered possible troublemakers. But the reality of this political spying has been so much less sinister than Orwell anticipated, so fumbling and occasional, that even those most concerned, its targets or "victims," if you will, have difficulty in maintaining their sense of alarm. Those in favor of this incessant watching argue lamely that one has nothing to fear so long as one has nothing to hide; and those who oppose it still speak more of future rather than present dangers in the use of police procedures for political purposes. Even this writer, when he began, thought other problems more urgent than political surveillance, and yet, when you begin to add everything up, not only what is known, which is plenty, but what is not known, which might be . . . anything . . . Well, let us not anticipate, but proceed.

Perhaps the best place to begin is with the experiences of a single organization, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, a group of several hundred activists and perhaps twenty thousand members all told, of whom very few had taken part in any sort of politics before joining VVAW. The group came to life in April, 1967, when six veterans found themselves marching together in a huge antiwar demonstration in New York. Its official existence has been fitful ever since, growing and subsiding more or less in time with the antiwar movement as a whole. Their best-known action was Operation Dewey Canyon III in

continued



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THE VIRGINIA WEEKLY

SEPT 1972

# CIA FUNDING CHALLENGED

## PRESS SUPPRESSES STORY

### Mass Media Ignore Item

A virtual news blackout has been declared by the nation's press concerning the major legal challenges that have been launched against the Central Intelligence Agency.

The August 10 filing of a suit in Washington against CIA Director Richard Helms and other government officials was a matter of court record and easily accessible to the news media. In addition, a news release containing essential facts about the story was hand delivered to the Washington Post, the Evening Star, the Associated Press and United Press International.

A week later, not one line concerning it had appeared anywhere in the country.

Earlier this year on July 20, an important decision in the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals guaranteed that the CIA would be brought to court on a challenge that had been in process since 1968.

America's greatest newspaper "of record" the New York Times, ignored the story, as did the Washington Evening Star and most other papers. The Washington Post carried the story as a small item on page ten.

It was confirmed that editors were well aware of the story and its importance.

A call to one of Washington's two dailies produced this comment from a leading reporter: "You can call it a 'press conspiracy' if you like, but we're not going to print it and I'm sure no one else is either."

## Court Moves Hit Secrecy

*\*Special to the Virginia Weekly*

America's "invisible government," the Central Intelligence (CIA), owes its existence to a piece of legislation that is unconstitutional.

This is the likely import of recent actions in Federal Courts in Washington and Philadelphia.

In a suit filed August 10, in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, three Washingtonians challenged the secrecy of the CIA's funding and accounting.

The Washington suit followed closely a trail-blazing decision on July 20 of this year by the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia. In that decision a majority of the court held that there was a serious legal question concerning the constitutionality of the CIA act of 1949 which established a secret procedure for financing the agency.

### A VIRTUALLY IGNORED CLAUSE

Both court cases are based on a virtually ignored clause of the United States Constitution specifically requiring that "a regular Statement and Account of the Receipt and Expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time." The CIA act of 1949 just as explicitly states "...Sums made available to the Agency may be expended without regard to the provisions of U.S. law regarding funds."

The spy agency receives somewhere between four and twenty billion dollars each year in public funds (how much is a closely guarded secret) that are carefully hidden throughout the appropriations figures for the entire federal government.

The new suit also asks for a state-by-state and nation-by-nation breakdown of CIA expenditures, as well as separating the money into categories by functions. CIA Director Richard Helms and Elliot Richardson, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare are brought into the local suit.

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# U.S. Election Absorbs Many South Vietnamese

By MALCOLM W. BROWNE

Special to The New York Times

SAIGON, South Vietnam, July 13—Never has an American election seemed more important to politically informed South Vietnamese than the coming race between Senator George McGovern and President Nixon.

Many South Vietnamese see the election as a clear contest of opposing points of view on the Vietnam war and one in which the future of Vietnam will be decided.

The assumption by most Vietnamese seems to be that President Nixon will pursue his present course, which, in their eyes, means fighting the Communists, come what may.

Senator McGovern is seen as an enemy of President Thieu and military rule, and, more importantly, as someone who would bring peace to Vietnam by allowing the Communists to prevail sooner or later.

Consequently, the attitudes of any South Vietnamese toward the two candidates can be predicted exactly if it is known how he feels about the war, communism and President Nguyen Van Thieu.

## 'We Mistrust Both'

"There is another factor I must mention if I am to be completely frank," a fairly high-ranking South Vietnamese civil servant said. "There has never been a time when Vietnamese of all political stripes disliked Americans more than they do now. That is to say, we dislike and mistrust both Nixon and McGovern, for the irrational reason they are both Americans."

"But for me, and perhaps just for that reason, I prefer McGovern. He has pledged to get America out of Vietnam, and that's all I need to know about him."

Despite the speaker's high position in the Government, his views are clearly not typical of supporters of President Thieu.

Over the years Mr. Nixon has repeatedly visited South Vietnam, and a succession of military governments has made him feel welcome. By comparison, Senator McGovern was greeted with tear gas and official derision when he visited Saigon last September.

Ngo Khac Tinh, Minister of Education and a cousin of President Thieu, said of the McGovern candidacy: "As Vietnamese we all wish to see an American President who can deal with the Communists. I think President Nixon has been tough. McGovern is too soft, too flexible."

## Nixon Victory Expected

Opposition politicians, pacifists, most journalists and probably a majority of the younger intellectuals would like to see Senator McGovern in the White House.

Ho Ngoc Nhuan, an opposition Deputy said: "If Mr. McGovern wins in November then I think he will be the one United States President who can bring about an honorable and most satisfactory solution to the Vietnam war."

The general assumption here is that President Nixon will win re-election.

The body of gossiping politicians, journalists, lawyers and others who make up the Saigon coffeehouse set already fears for Senator McGovern's life.

"Nixon will have him murdered, you'll see," a prominent lawyer said. "That's how politics in America work these days. The microphones the Republicans tried to plant at Democratic headquarters show what's going on. Some mysterious killer, like the one who almost got Wallace, will get McGovern. The C.I.A. will never let a dove into the White House."

Most South Vietnamese believe that the United States, like Vietnam, moves politically mainly within a context of conspiracies and counterconspiracies. There is doubt that the electoral process in America is much more than a sham that conceals a behind-the-scenes President-making process.

Those few South Vietnamese who have visited or lived in the United States view the coming election more realistically, and some confess they are in a quandary about it.

"If we Vietnamese could vote in your election," a wealthy and well-educated Saigon doctor said, "this would be a difficult one for me."

## 'A Time To Be Counted'

He added:

"The issues are perfectly clear, a vote for McGovern is a vote against my supposed class and for the Communists. If the Communists take over, it will mean the destruction of me. I will lose everything."

"But I'm going to surprise you and tell you I would vote for McGovern anyway. The time has come for nationalists to stand up and be counted. If Nixon stays in office, Vietnam will be destroyed economically and socially."

"One of the reasons for the great anti-American feeling here now is Nixon's support for a very unpopular president in Vietnam," he continued.

"Nixon will win, of course, but I would like to see a McGovern victory followed by a gradual transition here. The Communists will run all of Vietnam eventually, but the main thing is that they should assume control not suddenly, but gradually, and let us all get used to each other a little at a time."

Although most South Vietnamese and foreigners living here say they know how the people of this country think on any given issue, nothing seems harder to gauge than South Vietnamese public opinion.

South Vietnam never had a free election, and the few past efforts to take polls have been largely thwarted by the war and the prevailing fear that truthful answers can lead to trouble with the police on one side or the Communists on the other.

There seems little question that South Vietnamese who want continued armed resistance to the Communists are hoping for a Nixon victory in November; those who want an end to the war look to Senator McGovern.



"Natcherlly it's a heist Sarjint, but that happens to be a CIA man an' he's gotta be heistin' campaign material for you know who!"

8 JUN 1972

STATINTL

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## Police use of press credentials denounced

Use of press credentials by undercover policemen is the subject of new departmental regulations at the Los Angeles Police Department.

Chief Edward Davis said he plans to present a resolution outlawing the activity at upcoming meetings of the California Peace Officers Association and the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

Davis told Capitol News Service at Sacramento that the men in his command "never used the technique" but he wouldn't say which departments did to cause the uproar.

Suffice it to say there were law enforcement agencies using the press credential to ingratiate officers into groups of social revolutionaries for the purpose of gathering intelligence data.

It has been reported that undercover agents of Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and police in San Diego and San Francisco have been involved.

Newsman say the use of phony press credentials by policemen is a "violation of the guarantee of press freedom," and "misuse of an abiding trust" which the public should have for accredited news correspondents and photographers.

For a peace officer to use press credentials to gather information "casts doubt on the real members of the press and places them in jeopardy," the Davis resolution states.

23 MAY 1972

# 170 anti-Pentagon protesters arrested

By TIM WHEELER

WASHINGTON, May 22 — More than 1,000 peace supporters demonstrated today before the Pentagon to confront the "command center" of President Nixon's genocidal war on Vietnamese civilians.

Spurred by yesterday's demonstration of more than 15,000 at the Capitol yesterday — a rally in which trade unions played a significant part — the protesters today marched across a Memorial Bridge into Virginia to stage a symbolic "people's blockade of the Pentagon."

The marchers sat down in the Pentagon parking lot, where speakers urged them to maintain "constant pressure" on the Pentagon and the Nixon Administration to end the war.

They were met by a line of police. More than 170 arrests were made by police wielding clubs and using teargas.

Father James Groppi of Milwaukee, one of the speakers, praised the demonstrators for opposing militarism in the U.S. and supporting the "just cause" of the Vietnam Liberation movement.

Groppi was among those later arrested.

## Sunday's march

In Sunday's demonstration, thousands of trade unionists, students and youths, Black and white, marched under colorful banners up Constitution Avenue from the

Washington Monument to join the Capitol rally.

Members of District 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees marched under signs which declared, "More Money for Our Cities, Not Bombs for Vietnam Cities."

Larger contingents of Black and white members of District 65, Distributive Workers of America, carried signs attacking "Nixon's War" and urging "Nixon Must Go."

The backbone of this demonstration appeared, more strikingly

than in any past action, to be organized labor, Black and white.

Numerous labor speakers denounced Nixon's war to an audience that was reinforced by large contingents of workers. Other banners identified "Chicago Peace Council," and Newark, N.J., said "Stop this Racist War," "Princeton University for Peace" and "Environmentalists for Peace."

"One, Two, Three, Four — Stop the Bombing, Stop the War," chanted a big contingent of hospital workers, mostly Black, who marched into the rally wearing Local 1199 paper caps. They carried a banner which declared, "End the Blockage, Stop the Bombing, Out of Southeast Asia Now."

Federal Employees for Peace from the Capital area carried a sign which read "U.S. out of Asia and Africa," and the United Store Workers marched under a banner with the slogan "Impeach Nixon."

Applause greeted the United Furniture Workers' large contingent under a velvet flag reading "Local 140, Bedding, Drapery and Curtain Workers."

From Houston, Texas, came members of Local 305 of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Papermill Workers. Their huge banner declared "Freeze the War, Not Wages."

A large interracial contingent marched under the scarlet banners of the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League. Banners identified party contingents from Alabama, Nashville and Memphis, Tenn.; the District of Columbia, Illinois, New York and Pennsylvania.

Victor Reuther, former vice-president of the United Auto Workers, moderated the rally. He denied that workers support the war and said they would "use the ballot box" to dump Nixon.

He predicted a large turnout for the founding convention of Labor for Peace in St. Louis, June 23-24.

Cleveland Robinson, president of the Distributive Workers Union, told the crowd, "I speak for the totality of the membership of my union... We demand of this nation, of the President, that he stop killing Black and Brown people around the world."

## Multi-front struggle

He urged a multi-front struggle against the war-caused price inflation, unemployment, and poverty, and denounced the Vietnam war as "part of the racism that has been institutionalized in our lives from the days of slavery."

Jerry Wurf, president of AFSCME and a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, said Nixon's mining of Haiphong harbor makes it "crystal clear that he is determined in his strange way to win this war" even though the cost to the people has been "price inflation, endless unemployment, wages that are being controlled, while profits are at an all-time high."

Wurf lashed ultra-leftist attempts to disrupt the rally and declared, "We want Nixon to get us the hell out of Southeast Asia."

Beulah Sanders, national chairman of the National Welfare Rights Organization, blasted Nixon for continuing "ten years of aggressive and illegal war against the poor people of Indochina."

Those who attempt to divert the movement into clashes with the police, she said, "help conceal the real enemy, the Nixons and Johnsons and the Reagans and the Rockefellers."

Dick Gregory, Black antiwar activist, charged that "the number one problem facing the nation is not air pollution but 'moral pollution' by the Rockefellers and the DuPonts."

continued

## The Washington Merry-Go-Round

**Black Activists Are FBI Targets**

By Jack Anderson

The FBI is conducting systematic surveillance of black leaders, who are guilty of nothing more serious than excessive political rhetoric.

Millions of dollars have been invested in the FBI's investigation of "racial matters." But our study of the secret files indicates that the investigation has been heavily one-sided. Only the most extreme white racists have come under FBI scrutiny, but almost every prominent black leader in the country has an FBI dossier in his name. Even congressmen and Nixon-Agnew supporters, if they're black, are regarded with suspicion by the FBI.

The list of black "subversives" includes such apostles of non-violence as the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., his wife, Coretta Scott King; the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy; Jesse Jackson, the handsome young "country preacher" who recently started a self-help group in Chicago; Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); and Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

The FBI has even zeroed in on President Nixon's most articulate black supporter, former CORE director Floyd

McKissick Jr., whose political activities have been chronicled by the FBI in a fat file.

Now director of the new town of "Soul City," N.C., McKissick made headlines when he lambasted the Democratic Party for failing to deliver "on its promises." The Nixon administration, he said, has offered more than "just the rhetoric."

Like many a white politician, McKissick has jumped the political fence. For two years earlier, he had called Mr. Nixon "one of the nation's leading proponents of Law and Order — Fascist Style." McKissick's words were duly deposited in his bulging FBI dossier.

**Secret Capitalist**

Another entry, dated Jan. 13, 1970, is stamped "Secret—No Foreign Dissemination." One of the deep, dark secrets noted by FBI agent Thomas L. Beckwith was that McKissick "has made several speeches throughout the U.S. during 1969 wherein he advocated black capitalism..."

But far more grievous, McKissick, "in one speech stated the Black Panther Party should be supported."

FBI agents were also listening when McKissick at a black bash in Brooklyn "commented unfavorably on the fact that

this affair was held in a church, since churches are among groups infiltrated by the FBI and Central Intelligence Agency which hold the blacks down."

The federal sleuths have also been poking their noses into McKissick's financial affairs. States one entry:

"Floyd McKissick, it was learned, had recently received check Number 2666 made out in his name and drawn against the account of the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, Inc., in the amount of \$2,500. This check was subsequently deposited to McKissick's account in the Freedom National Bank, Harlem, New York."

**Mrs. King's Finances**

The FBI has also been prying into Coretta Scott King's finances. When a documentary film about her late husband was appearing around the country, the top cops were busy counting receipts.

The movie's first run, says a confidential memo dated Aug. 5, 1970, "resulted in receipts in excess of \$2,000,000. By arrangements made prior to March 24, 1970, by Coretta Scott King and officials of the SCLC the receipts for this movie were to be divided equally between King and the SCLC."

The finances of Roy Innis,

successor to Floyd McKissick as chairman of CORE, have been meticulously catalogued, too. And Innis's file notes ominously that he has "attended marches to protest against the war in Vietnam..."

Ralph David Abernathy, successor to the martyred Dr. King, rates a file that would choke a hippopotamus. The FBI's investigators seem most intrigued over his troubles with his colleagues.

An FBI informant reported on March 6, 1970, for example that one colleague, Hosea Williams, "remarked to some associates he was rather concerned as to the cool and noticeably distant attitude recently displayed by ... Abernathy."

Black artists, entertainers and sports figures, who speak up for their race, are also suspect. One of the thickest FBI files is devoted to former heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali. Actor singer Harry Belafonte and author James Baldwin are kept under surveillance, too.

The file on black comedian Dick Gregory could be measured by the pound. Author-actor-playwright Ossie Davis and his wife have been investigated numerous times. Singer Eartha Kitt is quoted as being opposed to statehood for Puerto Rico.

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Also a body

## Board faced with demands, emotions

By JAMES ROBBINS

"Imperialism strangles the people of the world but the people fight back."

Chanting these words as they solemnly carried a bandaged, bloodied "body", anti-war protestors, numbering between 75 and 100, met with the University Board of Governors Friday afternoon.

The demonstrators placed what was characterized as "one of the many bodies found all over the world" on a table before the 13 governors, including University President Edward Bloustein.

### Emotional scene

This Vietnam effigy set the tone for this session, at times, a scene of extreme emotion and desperation as each side attempted to understand the feelings of the other. The philosophical and political role of the University during wartime as either an education institution or as merely an institution of the State of New Jersey was a universal question.

Earlier in the day, the protestors had issued a list of demands to the Board, and the afternoon session, held after the Board's regular meeting, was for the purpose of officially answering the demands.

The demands called for an end to University relations with the CIA, the abolition of ROTC, and end to Defense Department research contracts, an end to war-related stock investments, and a publicized University stand against the Vietnam war.

As for the demand regarding the CIA, Bloustein said the University will not "act as a conduit, a communications arm for the CIA."

### Unacceptable

They refused to accept the Board's decision regarding ROTC "in light of the fact that ROTC is the cause of bodies like this [pointing to the painted student] around the world," according to Rutgers College history teaching assistant Doug Seaton.

Archibald Alexander, Board chairman and former U.S. under-secretary of the Army, read the six-part proposal, which they had just approved, saying that ROTC

will remain on campus but will be given "E" credit.

"In other words, [the Board means] no," said Roger Kranz '72.

Alexander, answering to the issue of investments with war-related industries, said that a committee has been appointed to investigate investments and make recommendations back to the Board within "two or three months."

The crowd retaliated with moans and groans of dismay at this decision.

"Do you know how many bombs are dropped and how many people are killed in two or three months?", one student asked.

### "Concrete gesture"

Lee Wiener, former sociology professor at Livingston College, asked the Board to make "a concrete gesture in that direction right now."

The issue of whether the University should assume a stand against the war proved to be the most controversial and emotional topic.

Bloustein said "the Board can and will not take a stand collectively, although some of us have already stated a position as individuals."

Wiener, puzzled and visibly shaken, asked Bloustein: "Aren't you concerned that 30 years from now you too will write memoirs about how you were personally opposed to a system of oppression, but somehow in the institutions you participated in didn't do anything?"

Bloustein dryly reiterated the University's position, saying that "any attempt to take a position officially on this issue will destroy the values of free inquiry in this institution and others."

Weiner then made a comparison between the stand taken by German universities during the Nazi era and with the present situation.

"The difference between you and I" Bloustein said, "is that I don't think we're in the position of Nazi Germany."

Joseph Pollack '72, in another emotional tirade, condemned the Board's "intellectual

dogmatism," and pleaded for a "feeling for the human condition."

He then proceeded to shake the hands of each Board member in a symbol of mutual dedication in helping to end war.

Pertaining to the demand to end all Defense Department-related research, Alexander said that the contracts with the DOD are not for the purpose of creating anything that "has direct offense application."

The demonstrators disagreed saying that anything related to the DOD is related to war.

Alexander adjourned the meeting. The protestors, picking up the "body" that did not move throughout the meeting, chanted "Rotcee must go! Rotcee must go!" as the governors filed out of the room.

STATINTL



STATINTL

The Radicalization of Berkeley

# A Lesson in Political Activism

**"We recall in Germany that, when all was said and done, the Nazi revolution was accomplished by working within the system"**

— By MIKE CULBERT

(In the Dec. 12, 1970, HUMAN EVENTS Berkeley Daily Gazette Editor Mike Culbert wrote in "The Battle for Berkeley" that Berkeley, Calif., might well have a Marxist city government after the elections of April 1971. In that contest three avowed radicals and a radically oriented mayor were elected. What has happened since then? The following is his summation.)

On April 7, 1971, a little after midnight victory whoops greeted the latest election tabulations on the stage at the Berkeley Community Theater. Red flags waved, and a few voices in a crowd of 2,000 people even intoned *The Internationale*.

The levity among the mostly young, mostly hip crowd (the "straights" had long since gone home, chagrined) was understandable:

Results in Berkeley's most hotly contested city election revealed that three avowed radicals of a unified radical slate were winning three out of four seats at stake on the city council and that a young black councilman running on radical rhetoric was on the way to election as mayor.

Sure enough, after the smoke cleared, Warren Widener, 34, was mayor of Berkeley; Berkeley housewife and radical leader Ilona H. (Loni) Hancock of the April Coalition, and two black militant attorneys, D'Army Bailey and Ira Simmons, both under 30, had been elected to council seats.

Only one non-radical, attorney Ed Kallgren, survived the radical thrust and his election to the council prevented a radical sweep. A liberal Democrat, Kallgren had been the only compromise non-radical on whom contending slates of non-radical groups could agree.

In a classic example of what happens when a unified minority voting bloc stays together while a majority scatters its ballots over a wide field, Hancock, Bailey and Simmons all made it to council seats without majority votes. Widener nosed out liberal Democrat [redacted] for mayor by 49 votes.

A radically sponsored "community control of police" city charter amendment which came out of a Black Panther-Communist "United Front Against Fascism" conference in Oakland was defeated better than 2 to 1.

Congressman Ronald V. Dellums, the black militant city councilman who had been elected to his 7th Congressional District seat the November prior, had endorsed the radical slate and the police partition amendment.

The nation's press, observing a process whereby organized radical groups (the April Coalition itself being an umbrella for more than a score of Berkeley radical groups) moved from street activism to revolution by ballot box, spoke of a "radical takeover."

Then they talked of "radicals working within the system," noted that a large youth vote (the campus wing of the radical coalition had registered 10,000 new voters) had given the radicals their edge, observed that nothing particular had happened following the "takeover," and then left Berkeley alone.

With a year in retrospect (the new council took office in May 1971), what has been the result of organized, self-avowed radicalism in Berkeley, home of the University of California, the Free Speech Movement, the Dirty Speech Movement, the Vietnam Day Committee, and Stop the Draft Week (s)?

The answer is: plenty.

- City Manager William Hanley, a target of radical councilmen and the mayor alike, resigned, as did three of his key lieutenants.

- Two city department heads have resigned. Other key city staff personnel are looking for jobs elsewhere.

- The Berkeley Police Department, which, like the council-manager form of city government, is a major target of radical politics, is 14 per cent undermanned, some of its top leadership leaving the months immediately following the seating of the new council.

- Crime in 1971 in all major areas except one jumped by 15 per cent—the rise paralleling the defections in the Police Department.

- Half of all hiring for city staff has been paralyzed by a mayor-led move to keep manpower replenishment "frozen" until such time as a minority preferential hiring system is approved, thus causing undermanned departments and widespread low morale in City Hall.

- Business in otherwise wealthy Berkeley is spotty at best. A doubling in the business licenses tax and adoption of a widely ranging businesses and professions tax category have caused some businesses to leave, others to hesitate before locating in Berkeley. Office space vacancy in new buildings is high.

Radicals have not had a clear majority—indeed; the council was divided between four radicals (including the mayor, who was not a member of the unified radical slate) and four non-radicals (two Democrats, two Republicans) until last December, when the mayor cast the tie-breaking vote to make an appointment (another liberal Democrat) to the unfilled ninth seat.

Hence, most of the council's actions have been compromise affairs between radical and liberal "swing" votes. The actions have, in the main, displeased the hard-core Berkeley left, and have thoroughly appalled the ever-dwindling conservative community.

Among Berkeley's more attention-getting actions during the year:

- Banning the Pledge of Allegiance at council meetings.

- Approving conversion of the city into a sanctuary for AWOL sailors off Viet Nam-bound ships and ordering of city officials not to co-operate with federal officers if the latter arrived to make arrests. No sailors sought the sanctuary, but the state attorney general and local U.S. attorney warned that the council's action was a violation of federal law.



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# VIEWPOINT

## Antiwar unity

Signs of a breakthrough have begun to appear in the impasse which has plagued the antiwar movement.

In a departure from their previous adherence to a "single issue" stance within the antiwar movement, the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) has announced its endorsement and support of the April 1 demonstration in Harrisburg sponsored by the Harrisburg Defense Committee. This action is one of the major focuses of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ).

The Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), which has ties with perhaps the largest mass constituency of NPAC, the student youth, while neglecting the April 1 action at its recent national conference, has subsequently endorsed it and, together with NPAC, has pledged itself to mobilize support and attendance in Harrisburg.

In addition, NPAC has been emphasizing in recent months a position which comes closer to support of the PRG seven-point peace plan than previously. Specifically, they have responded to the Vietnamese demand that the U.S. end its support of the Thieu regime by going beyond their "Out Now!" slogan to a call for "No support to the puppet dictator Thieu; no U.S. imposed governments in Indochina."

Simultaneously, the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee in New York City, one of the key membership organizations of PCPJ, has voted to support and publicize the April 22 mass demonstration sponsored by NPAC. It is expected that constituent groups of the Parade Committee will participate in the April 22 march and rally, with their own slogans and banners.

Finally, the Interim Committee of PCPJ has decided to list the April 22 demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles as part of the spring antiwar calendar and to encourage people in both areas to participate in these actions with PCPJ banners and slogans.

The political implications of these developments cannot be underestimated. On the part of NPAC they reveal a new flexibility and responsiveness to the general sentiments of the rank-and-file of the antiwar movement. The support for the April 1 action in Harrisburg is especially encouraging, since it reflects a heightened sensitivity to the integral connections between the war in Indochina and political repression at home. NPAC's support of Berrigan and his co-defendants in Harrisburg indicates a revived willingness to cooperate with those who are pursuing different tactical courses in the struggle—in this case, to defend those who engage in civil disobedience.

The new emphasis on the demand to end support of the Thieu regime is likewise a welcome step which should go a long way towards bringing the respective positions of different wings of the antiwar movement into a closer harmony. The decision of the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee is equally encouraging. Many members of that group have very strong criticisms of NPAC's politics and tactics, but the committee's willingness to overcome these obstacles to build the most effective antiwar demonstration possible April 22 is commendable. Hopefully, this will set a pattern for other constituent groups in PCPJ.

The decision by PCPJ to include April 22 in their calendar and to encourage support of the demonstrations represents an important, if somewhat belated, shift from a position which was encountering strenuous criticism among the rank and file of the peace movement. Unfortunately, this decision by the PCPJ leadership was preceded by a number of statements and official mailings which did not list April 22 and which specifically declared that "PCPJ has decided not to endorse" the April 22 actions.

It is time, we believe, for the rank-and-file of the antiwar movement to impose its will on a leadership which has, all too often, defined the struggle in narrowly sectarian terms. The steps towards unified action on April 1 and April 22 are both encouraging. We hope that more steps will be taken by both PCPJ and NPAC to

narrow the wide gap that still exists. With the dwindling clout of the antiwar movement—and the rising antiwar sentiment of the American people—the continued divisions in the movement have become intolerable.

## Paranoia--1

A dangerous, paranoid element has been introduced into the differences that exist between PCPJ and NPAC, the two big antiwar coalitions.

We refer to an article appearing in the March 11 Daily World analyzing the recent World Assembly for the Peace and Independence of the Indochinese Peoples conducted in Versailles, France.

"In a meeting like the Assembly," the Communist party newspaper stated, "differences within a large delegation (meaning the U.S. delegation) cannot be hidden and, of course, were known to all. A general suspicion existed in the other delegations that the CIA was up to its familiar tricks, with its agents planted to encourage the maximum dissension, an assumption that can never be discounted entirely. The frustration of the Nixon administration's external efforts to get the Assembly banned by the French government or shifted far from the site of the Paris peace talks served to increase a belief that the CIA or related agencies would press internal efforts to disrupt Assembly proceedings from within. Not surprisingly, the Trotskyists and those linked with the National Peace Action Coalition that they promote, who persistently rejected unity positions and refused to accept majority decisions, drew the most suspicion of carrying out a disruptionist role."

The inference is that NPAC is in the hire of the CIA. This kind of stupidity—and admission of bankruptcy in directing political criticism at NPAC—can only harm the cause of antiwar unity and peace. The Daily World must be sternly criticized for ventilating such scandalous and harmful rumors.

## Paranoia--2

The Socialist Workers party is continuing to spread poison propaganda about fancied "deals" between People's China and U.S. imperialism as a result of President Nixon's journey to Peking.

The March 17 Militant, SWP organ, criticizes the Guardian for arguing that the presidential visit signified the weakness of U.S. imperialism, not the strength. The Trotskyist weekly maintained that the Chinese have decided to make an accommodation with imperialism.

As SWP "analysts" have done for weeks, the author of this particular homily immediately established a context that is difficult to refute with hard evidence: "Any agreements that were reached (between China and the U.S.) will be kept in top-secret files for an indefinite period."

The hard evidence, it would seem, is locked up somewhere in Peking and Washington. How does the SWP know? Well, the Militant daydreams, weren't the secret agreements made at Big Three summit meetings during World War 2 kept secret for years?

Such "evidence" plus a few quotes from the bourgeois reactionary newspaper columnists Evans and Novak and a tortured history of the Chinese revolution is the substance of the SWP case.

On these grounds, the SWP charges the Guardian with performing a "disservice" for taking the "Nixon-Chou communique at face value."

We did not, of course, take the communique at "face value" but sought to analyze the objective conditions surrounding the Nixon trip and to interpret the communique in this light (see Viewpoints March 8 and March 1, plus our continuing reports by Wilfred Burchett). The Militant, on the other hand, sufficed to warm over objective conditions of a quarter-century ago topped with the subjective surmise that some kind of deal had been made.

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E & S - 29,780

STATINTL

Blacks, whites disagree

# OC students debate the presence of CIA

By MARTIN KOPPELL

OBERLIN — Black and white students at Oberlin College verbally clashed yesterday afternoon over the presence of Central Intelligence Agency representatives on campus to discuss career planning with blacks.

"Up to now, your parents have been working with the CIA. We want to be a James Bond too," one black student told 250 students assembled in the main lounge, Wilder Hall.

WHITE STUDENTS HAD CALLED the 2:30 p.m. meeting to protest the scheduled 4 p.m. session between blacks and the CIA. The whites argued against the presence on campus of an agency they said was involved in sabotage.

The 4 p.m. session, on the second floor of the Oberlin Inn, started a few minutes late, with about 35 blacks present.

The white students, in a flyer distributed on campus, said, "Representatives of the CIA will be at the Oberlin Inn Friday (yesterday) at 4 p.m. at their own request, and will speak to only members of the black college community.

"The CIA are here with the full knowledge and complicity of the Oberlin College administration, who consciously withheld the information from the college community as a whole."

THE WHITE STUDENTS maintained that the CIA's presence should have been discussed by the whole college community.

Hal D. Payne, assistant dean of students, told the group assembled in Wilder that the session with the CIA had been called primarily to disseminate information about the agency and not as a recruitment meeting.

Payne said he was contacted earlier this year by the college placement office when a representative of the CIA, who formerly had a son at Oberlin, heard about the arrangement between the Black Caucus and the college to increase minority enrollment on campus.

The CIA, Payne said, wanted to know whether Oberlin was a place where it could begin a "conversation" with blacks.

Payne said he looked upon the CIA "as an employer and as a bastion of the white establishment to which blacks have no entry."

FROM THAT ANGLE, Payne said, "it might be interesting to enter into a conversation with the CIA."

"Any organization has the right to appear on campus," Payne said, and "to deny the CIA would have been a violation of the procedures at the college."

In the intervening months, Payne recalled, there were very few discussions with the CIA, but the agency made a determination of who would be involved and where.

Letters were sent to certain students, and a meeting was held this week by the black student group.

That group, said Payne, concluded that while the black students didn't respect the CIA and were suspicious of it, they were still interested in confronting the agency.

Payne said that because of his work with blacks, the session had been confined to black students, and concerned how can the CIA be relevant to blacks, and what the CIA is doing to blacks.

PAYNE NOTED THAT WITH the lack of a student government, the central question was whether an organization many disagree with should be permitted to have a conversation "with some of us."

"If representatives (of the total student body) want to go out and inform the CIA that the Oberlin student body at large will not permit a conversation, I doubt they (CIA) will persist in seeking to meet with blacks who want to talk to them."

Payne said the presence of the CIA to talk to blacks was not an isolated incident, but part of an overall program of many organizations coming to campus to speak to one particular segment.

He said he regarded the session with the CIA as one concerned with the issue of career planning and not with that of job placement.

"I have doubts about certain corporations relative to blacks, but I would not want to deny the organization the right to speak to blacks," Payne added.

ALTHOUGH SEVERAL WHITE students expressed displeasure at the presence of the CIA on campus, the sentiment was not shared by several blacks.

One black female student said the central issue is "whether or not Hal Payne has the right to send out letters specifically to black students dealing with problems dealing with blacks specifically and only."

Another black student told the whites that the CIA had "come to talk to blacks. That is our concern. It is none of your business. We don't need your permission to talk to anyone."

"I would not have considered the CIA in the past because the CIA didn't consider themselves as an equal opportunity employer. The CIA is now an equal opportunity employer."

# Limits Needed on Government Surveillance

BY FLORA LEWIS

WASHINGTON—Sen. Sam Ervin (D-N.C.) is continuing his dogged inquiry into freewheeling surveillance of private citizens and the damage it can do.

Several government agencies, notably the FBI and the Army, have already been embarrassed by disclosure of some of their unreasonable investigations. So far, however, there has been no effort to reveal the other, just as dangerous, side of the coin.

The passion for secrecy and the film-script style of some government operations have created an atmosphere where unauthorized people can pass themselves off as federal agents, recruit informers and intimidate opponents without challenge.

The CIA is currently looking into a New York case where an unknown man tried to enlist political informers, on the claim that he was a CIA agent helping to provide security for the Chinese Communist delegation to the United Nations. He has not yet been identified, but the trail appears to lead to right-wing groups eager to provoke some kind of incident that would spoil President Nixon's trip to China.

Even if the false agent and his sponsors can be found, however, nothing can be done about them. It is against the law to impersonate a policeman, but there is no law against pretending to be a federal agent. The problem arises "all the time," according to a top official.

Such a law didn't seem necessary years ago when federal marshals wore badges and operated in the open. Now there are so many secret activities that often one arm of the government doesn't know when it crosses the path of another agency's operatives, and the ordinary citizen has no way of telling with whom he is dealing.

Daniel Schorr of CBS, whom the FBI did investigate on grounds that he was being secretly considered for a government job, testified eloquently before Ervin's committee on the insidious, unsettling results. The committee is considering a bill to ban such inquiries, where no crime is suspected, without the subject's permission.

Almost by reflex, officialdom dislikes the idea. But the investigators haven't stopped to think how much it might ease their legitimate tasks and foil the fraudulent agents who frequently get in their way.

The TV show, "All in the Family," reflected not long ago the social turmoil and doubt that even a trivial inquiry can cause in an atmosphere of suspicion. Each man on the block wondered what was wrong with the fellow whom the FBI was asking about, and what was wrong with the neighbor whom the FBI man had only asked the same question.

The disclosure of impersonations makes it even worse. It proves again the parallel to Gresham's law that fancy can drive out fact where the habit of secrecy prevails. That was what made the Clifford Irving-Howard Hughes spectacular possible, after all. It was Howard Hughes' reputation for being secretive that enabled Irving to hoodwink McGraw-Hill and Life, and the publishers' knowledge of our ravenous appetite for titillating secrets that made them so easy to bilk.

When the daily news is a crazy circus, who can be sure which is the masquerade and which is for real?

In government intelligence, domestic or foreign, the uncertainty damages both the effectiveness of government and the freedom of citizens. This sorry situation stems from a cumulative misunderstanding of what a free country really needs to know to protect itself.

Further, it is a misunderstanding of what the secret police are really about in a police state. Their essential purpose isn't to gather information against possible enemies, but to intimidate their people to the point where they actually police themselves, avoiding foreigners, censoring self-expression, hiding even from their own hopes and feelings.

The legitimate purpose of investigation in a free society is to gather necessary information. A law establishing that limit on secret government surveillance, with permission of the subject the test of necessity where there is no question of crime, and at the same time punishing impersonation of an agent would protect both the citizen and the loyal official.

Otherwise, you could get into trouble with your employer or your neighbors because the FBI or CIA is looking at you, or because somebody who works for a collection agency or a zany extremist group or even a foreign government pretends to be a federal operator looking at you or enlisting your help. Secrecy breeds fakery.

## 48 "James Bond" personnels pour Nixon

Nouveau service de renseignements ultra-secrets aux Etats-Unis. Intitulé « Continental United States Intelligence », il est totalement indépendant de la C.i.a. et se trouve placé sous l'autorité directe du président Nixon. Il ne comprend que 48 hommes triés sur le volet. Ces super-James Bond, parlant plusieurs langues étrangères, ont appris à tuer selon toutes les méthodes. Leur instruction leur a été donnée dans la base secrète de Fort Holabird (Maryland). Leur centre d'entraînement est situé dans le Texas, à Fort Hood. Quant aux archives, elles se trouvent en Virginie, à Fort Monroe. Les agents du « Continental United States Intelligence » ont été recrutés principalement parmi les membres des services de renseignements de l'armée ou au F.b.i. Leur première mission a consisté à s'infiltrer dans l'organisation dissidente palestinienne « Septembre noir » qui avait fait assassiner Wasfi Tall, le Premier ministre de Jordanie. Le « Continental United States Intelligence » a pu ainsi déterminer que cette organisation constituait des « escadrons de la mort » et a pu prévenir le roi Hussein de Jordanie qu'il était la prochaine victime désignée.

continued

TULSA, OKLA.

EAGLE

FEB 3 1972

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# Just Plain Talk

THE KING ALFRED PLAN



## HAS THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT DRAWN UP A PLAN TO CONTROL AND ELIMINATE BLACKS IN CASE OF A RACE WAR???

Since 1964 at the height of the Civil Rights Revolution it has been alleged by sources in and out of government that the United States has a plan to take care of blacks in case of a racial conflict.

Two facts of history make this a matter of extreme importance. (1) Hitler had a plan for the Jews which he proceeded to carry out at Auschwitz and Bueckenwald. and (2) The U.S. Government carried out a sweeping plan of detention against the Japanese during World War 2 and for no appreciable reason than that they were Japanese.

Blacks, therefore, had better familiarize themselves with any plan which purports to take care of them in an emergency resulting from a racial conflict.

It is for this reason that I have given over my column to the printing of this plan for your enlightenment and it will be followed by my personal thoughts on the matter. The plan is called the King Alfred Plan after an Anglo-Saxon King of England who ruled around 844-899 AD.

### King Alfred

In the event of widespread and continuing and coordinated racial disturbances in the United States, KING ALFRED, at the discretion of the President, is to be put into action immediately.

### PARTICIPATING

FEDERAL AGENCIES, National Security Council, Department of Justice.

Central Intelligence Department of Defense, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Interior.

### Participating State

Agencies

(Under Federal City Police

### County Police

Even before 1954 when the Supreme Court of the United States of America declared unconstitutional separate educational and recreational facilities, racial unrest and discord had become very nearly a part of the American way of life. But that way of life was repugnant to most Americans. Since 1954, however, that unrest and discord have broken out into widespread violence which increasingly have placed the peace and stability of the nation in dire jeopardy. This violence has resulted in loss of life, limb and property, and has cost the taxpayers of this nation billions of dollars. And the end is not yet in sight. This same violence has raised the tremendously grave question as to whether the races can ever live in peace with each other. Each passing month has brought new intelligence that, despite new laws passed to alleviate the condition of the Minority, the Minority still is not satisfied. Demonstrations and rioting have become a part of the familiar scene. Troops have been called out in city after city across the land, and our image as a world leader severely damaged. Our enemies press closer, seeking the advantage, possibly at a time during one of these breaks of violence. The Minority has adopted an almost military posture to gain its objectives, which are not clear to most Americans. It is expected, therefore, that, when those objectives are denied the Minority, racial war must be considered inevitable. When that Emergency comes, we must expect the total involvement of all 22 million members of the Minority, men, women and children; for once this project is launched, its goal is to terminate, once and for all, the Minority threat to the whole of American society, and, indeed, to the Free World.

Charles J. Jeffrey, Jr.

Chairman, National Security Council

Preliminary Memo: Department of Interior UNDER KING ALFRED, the nation has been divided into 10 regions.

In case of Emergency, Minority members will be evacuated from the cities by federalized national guard units, local and state police and, if necessary, by units of the Regular Armed Forces, using public and military transportation, and detained in nearby military installations until a further course of action has been decided.

- 1-Capital region
- 2-Northeast region
- 3-Southeast region
- 4-Great Lakes region
- 5-South Central region
- 6-Deep South region
- 7-Deep South region II
- 8-Great Plains, Rocky Mountain region
- 9-Southwest region
- 10-a,b-West Coast region.

No attempt will be made to seal off the Canadian and Mexican borders.

Secretary, Department of Interior

Combined Memo: Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Central Intelligence Agency.

There are 12 major Minority organizations and all are familiar to the 22 million. Dossiers have been compiled on the leaders of the organizations, and can be studied in Washington. The material contained in many of the dossiers, and our threat to reveal that material, has considerably held in check the activities of some of their leaders. Leaders who do not have such usable material in their dossiers have been approached to take Government posts, mostly as ambassadors and primarily in African countries. The promise of these positions also has temporary slow-down of Minority activities. However,

we do not expect these slow-downs to be of long duration, because there are always new and dissident elements joining these organizations, with the potential power to replace the old leaders. All organizations and their members are under constant, 24-hour surveillance. The organizations are:

- 1-The Black Muslims
- 2-Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
- 3-Congress of Racial Equality
- 4-Uhuru Movement
- 5-Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL)
- 6-Freedom Now Party (FNP)
- 7-United Black Nationalists of America (UBNA)
- 8-The New Pan-African Movement (TNPAM)
- 9-Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
- 10-The National Urban League (NUL)
- 11-The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
- 12-Committee on Racial and Religious Progress (CORARP)

NOTE: At the Appropriate time, to be designated by the President, the leaders of some of these organizations are to be detained ONLY WHEN IT IS CLEAR THAT THEY CANNOT PREVENT EMERGENCY, working with local public officials during the first critical hours. All other leaders are to be detained at once. Compiled lists of Minority leaders have been readied at the National Data Computer Center. It is necessary to use the Minority leaders designated by the President in much the same manner in which we use Minority members who are agents with CENTRAL and FEDERAL, and we cannot reveal until there is no alternative in all its aspects. Minority members of Congress will be unseated at once. This move is not without precedent in American history.

Attorney General

(CONTINUED NEXT WEEK)

STATINTL

## The Activities of the Central Intelligence Agency, at Six Billion Dollars a Year

Edward K. DeLong  
United Press International  
Washington, D.C.

*"Whenever you are working on a problem that the military is deeply interested in — because it's affecting one of their programs . . . and you're not saying what they want you to say, the browbeating starts . . . the pressure to get the report to read more like they want it to read."*

STATINTL

(Based on a dispatch distributed by UPI  
on October 3, 1971)

Victor Marchetti embarked 16 years ago on a career that was all any aspiring young spy could ask. But two years ago, after reaching the highest levels of the Central Intelligence Agency, he became disenchanted with what he perceived to be amorality, overwhelming military influence, waste and duplicity in the spy business. He quit.

Fearing today that the CIA may already have begun "going against the enemy within" the United States as they may conceive it — that is, dissident student groups and civil rights organizations — Marchetti has launched a campaign for more presidential and congressional control over the entire U.S. intelligence community.

"I think we need to do this because we're getting into an awfully dangerous era when we have all this talent (for clandestine operations) in the CIA — and more being developed in the military, which is getting into clandestine "ops" (operations) — and there just aren't that many places any more to display that talent," Marchetti says.

### Running Operations Against Domestic Groups

"The cold war is fading. So is the war in Southeast Asia, except for Laos. At the same time, we're getting a lot of domestic problems. And there are people in the CIA who — if they aren't right now actually already running domestic operations against student groups, black movements and the like — are certainly considering it.

"This is going to get to be very tempting," Marchetti said in a recent interview at his comfortable home in Oakton, (Va.), a Washington suburb where many CIA men live.

"There'll be a great temptation for these people to suggest operations and for a President to approve them or to kind of look the other way. You have the danger of intelligence turning against the nation itself, going against the 'the enemy within.'"

Marchetti speaks of the CIA from an insider's point of view. At Pennsylvania State University he deliberately prepared himself for an intelligence career, graduating with a degree in international studies and history.

### Offer of Job in CIA

Through a professor secretly on the CIA payroll as a talent scout, Marchetti netted the prize all would-be spies dream of — an immediate job offer from the CIA. The offer came during a secret meeting in a hotel room, set up by a stranger who telephoned and identified himself only as "a friend of your brother."

Marchetti spent one year as a CIA agent in the field and 10 more as an analyst of intelligence relating to the Soviet Union, rising through the ranks until he was helping prepare the national intelligence estimates for the White House. During this period, Marchetti says, "I was a hawk. I believed in what we were doing."

### Moving Up

Then he was promoted to the executive staff of the CIA, moving to an office on the top floor of the Agency's headquarters across the Potomac River from Washington.

For three years he worked as special assistant to the CIA chief of plans, programs and budgeting, as special assistant to the CIA's executive director, and as executive assistant to the Agency's deputy director, V. Adm. Rufus L. Taylor.

"This put me in a very rare position within the Agency and within the intelligence community in general, in that I was in a place where it was being all pulled together," Marchetti said.

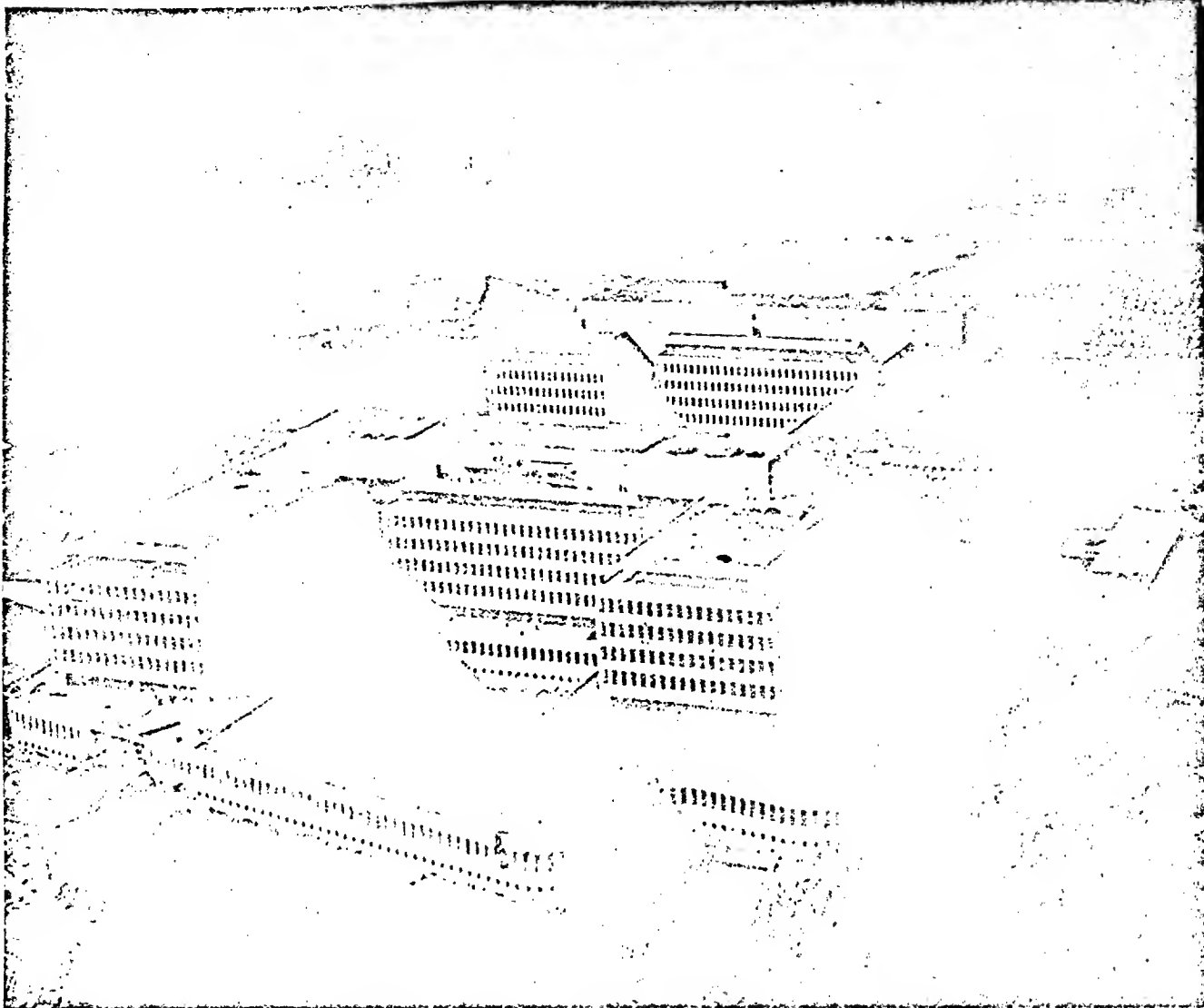
### I Began To See Things I Did Not Like

"I could see how intelligence analysis was done and how it fitted into the scheme of clandestine operations. It also gave me an opportunity to get a good view of the intelligence community, too: the National Security Agency, the DIA (Defense Intelligence Agency), the national reconnaissance organization — the whole bit. And I started to see the politics within the community and the politics between the community and the outside. This change of perspective during those three years had a profound effect on me, because I began to see things I didn't like."

shattered, Marchetti decided to abandon his chosen

continued





*CIA Headquarters in Virginia*

## Back yard CIA

The Central Intelligence Agency always insists its men aren't involved in domestic police work. But in Chicago CIA agents have been working with the FBI and Treasury men in an effort to pin the bank bombings on radical groups.

Heretofore, clandestine CIA police work within the US was centered around counter espionage efforts aimed at the

Soviet KGB. CIA maintains secret bases in all major US cities. The agency also has training camps in Virginia and the Carolinas. These are masked as regular military bases. Spooks are trained for duty at Williamsburg, Va.

Two years ago CIA employees were surprised when members of the Chicago police force were given special treatment at Langley, Va., headquarters

They met there with Helms, were shown around, and taken to the secret training camps. That was the beginning of rumors within the agency that the CIA had been given the go ahead to move into domestic police operations. While everyone denied it, the theory was that the CIA was told to get the radicals.

Two recent personnel changes increased speculation. One involved resignation of Helm's special assistant, Robert Kiley. Kiley handled the student operations through National Student Association facades. He recently turned up as associate director of the Police Foundation, a new group launched with a \$30 million Ford Foundation grant. The money is meant to be used to improve local police. The second personnel shift involved Drexel Godfrey, who was head of the CIA's Office of Current Intelligence. He quit this high ranking job, turned up in the narcotics bureau of the Justice Commission at Harrisburg, Pa. The commission is another new group which aims to help improve local

police. Both personnel shifts are cited by agency people to bolstering fronts in the US, thistime, moving into was given a new title recently, making him head of all intelligence and presumably providing him with a legitimate interest in internal police operations. But such suggestions are bitterly denied all around.

## The CIA as Cop

**T**HERE IS MOUNTING speculation over the Central Intelligence Agency's role in domestic police operations. While the CIA does not have subpoena or police powers, it nonetheless maintains bases and covert operations within the United States. Heretofore, it was usually believed that these operations were of a counter-espionage nature, directed primarily against the Soviets. However, now there is increasing speculation *within* the Washington intelligence community that there is something else going on, that possibly the CIA has struck up a direct relationship with police forces in major cities.

Two fairly recent personnel shifts at the Agency set off this speculation. The first concerned Robert Kiley who was the operations officer in direct charge of the student activities during the 1960s. Kiley supervised the NSA operation, coordinating the various fronts. After the NSA was exposed, Kiley was brought back to the Agency headquarters at Langley and made executive assistant to Helms, the director. About six months ago Kiley left his job to become associate director of a new organization called the Police Foundation which was begun in 1970 on a \$30 million grant from the Ford Foundation, "to help American police agencies realize their fullest potential by developing and funding promising programs of innovation and improvement."

The second personnel shift concerned the resignation from the CIA of Drexel Godfrey, who was head of the Office of Current Intelligence. Godfrey quit this job and in 1970 went to work for the Bureau of Narcotics at the Justice Department. Then he became executive director of the Governor's Justice Commission at Harrisburg, Pa., another recently formed organization to help improve law enforcement by giving grants to different local police departments.

While the Washington intelligence

community may well be overly paranoid, the speculation is that these new organizations are reminiscent of the student fronts, and, more important, typical of Agency activities abroad. The fact that two former high officials left the Agency for police work simply adds to the speculation. Moreover, the CIA has taken an increasing interest in domestic police activities within the last few years. In 1968 Chicago police officers received high-level briefings at CIA headquarters in Langley and were taken to the CIA secret paramilitary training camps, maintained in Virginia and the Carolinas. The Los Angeles police are also believed to have been visitors. All of this was regarded as unusual within the Agency itself, and there was expectation by some officials that the CIA would finally get a crack at the student radicals.

But then suddenly the President announced that all domestic security work would be handled by the Army and the FBI. At the CIA, it seemed too sudden to be true. Based on past experience, some CIA men took the order as a go-ahead for covert work. They say that, if the Agency were to become deeply involved with the US police, it would probably first attempt simply to gather information, to create a situation where it could begin to analyze intelligence—on prison conditions, radicals, police, the FBI, and so on. Then it would attempt to change the nature of the police force, hoping to model it more on Agency theories—emphasizing such activities as counter-espionage, shrewd intelligence analysis, etc. On an operations level, one way in which the Agency might attempt to rationalize its increased domestic activities would be to cite alleged connections between radical groups and the Soviets or Chinese, warning of increased activities by Soviet espionage, and under that rationalization increase its operations at the secret US bases.

—JAMES RIDGEWAY

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# Internal Security, Snooping Under Study for Democrats

By Ken W. Clawson

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Democratic Party is gearing up for a broad-based assault on the way the nation gathers and uses intelligence and handles internal security problems.

Democratic presidential candidates will have access to information to speak out on such issues as FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, the Central Intelligence Agency, domestic intelligence gathering, and the budgetary controls on the security establishment.

The studies, believed to be the first intensive look at security as a campaign issue, will also be considered for inclusion as a plank in the Democratic Party platform.

Sen. Adlai Stevenson III, a subject of Army surveillance during his senatorial campaign in Illinois, is chairman of the Democratic Policy Council's subcommittee on security and intelligence. The subcommittee is one of 18 gathering material that will crystalize into the issues for the 1972 presidential campaign.

Under the direction of Richard Blum, a professor of psychology at Stanford University, 23 persons—mostly academicians—are preparing papers on various aspects of the American intelligence establishment for presentation in the spring to the Policy Council and various Democratic presidential candidates.

Two of the authors, Burke Marshall, deputy dean of the Yale Law School, and John Elliff, a political science profes-

sor at Brandeis University, were participants in the conference on the FBI at Princeton University earlier this year. Director Hoover characterized the Princeton meeting as being lopsided against the FBI.

For the Democrats, Marshall will write a paper on the "Autonomy of the Security Apparatus," while Elliff's paper will be on the "FBI and Domestic Intelligence."

Blum said in a telephone interview that most of his contributors were critics of various phases of the intelligence community. But he said they were chosen without regard to political affiliation and that "if a Democratic President is chosen," the cadre would be helpful during the transition period.

While Hoover is not a specific topic of any contributor, Courtney Evans, a former top FBI official who was eased out of the agency following the departure of former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, will write a paper entitled "Proposals for Renovating the FBI."

Blum said he and Evans "toned down" the title several times and pointed out that "it goes without saying" where the renovation starts. Several Democratic presidential candidates have urged removal of Hoover, who will be 77 on Saturday and has served nearly 48 years as FBI director.

These indications that Hoover would be a target of Democratic hopefuls were put to Attorney General John N. Mitchell on Tuesday in Phoenix.

"Anyone would be out of their cotton-picking minds to run against J. Edgar Hoover in a presidential campaign," Mitchell told the Associated Press. He squelched reports that Republicans plan to ask Hoover to step aside, pointing out that Hoover is appointed by the President and that Mr. Nixon feels the Director is doing a good job.

Others preparing papers for the Democratic Party include Paul Warnke, former assistant secretary of defense; Roger Hilsman, former chairman of the State Department's intelligence unit; Christopher Pyle, political science professor at Columbia University; Rep. John Moss (D-Calif.); Ithiel Pool, deputy director of the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; David Davis, a history professor at Yale; Harry Ransom, political science professor at Vanderbilt University.

John Campbell, author of "The Foreign Affairs Fudge Factory"; Robert Lind and Robert North, Stanford University professors; Wesley Pomeroy, of the University of Minnesota; Harold Wilensky, sociology professor at the Berkeley campus of the University of California, and Roy Fisher, former editor of the Chicago Daily News who is now dean of journalism at the University of Missouri.

The papers are to be turned over to the Democratic Policy Council in February. A national committee spokesman said the contributors are not being paid.

## 26-month frameup case dropped against 2 in L.A.

Special to the Daily World

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 8 — During the pre-dawn hours of Oct. 2, 1969, federal agents raided the homes of Donald Freed and Shirley Sutherland and arrested them on a charge of possession of dangerous weapons (hand grenades).

Twenty six months later a special prosecutor for the Department of Justice moved to drop the charges, as the case was to be brought to trial before Federal Judge Warren F. Ferguson.

Luke McKissack, attorney for Mrs. Sutherland, called the government case "an unbelievable monument to governmental tyranny and invasion of constitutional right of privacy, originating with the infiltrations of a civil libertarian organization (of which Mr. Freed and Mrs. Sutherland were members) by an ex-Green Beret, present CIA agent James Jarett, whose government-authorized function was to attempt to goad genuinely concerned citizens into acts of violence, and eventually encompassing police theft of documents from the defense, burglarizing the defense investigator's apartment, destruction of crucial evidence and wiretapping attorneys' conversation."

The Citizens Research and Investigating Committee which called the press conference following the court action described

it a victory for all people in their fight against "official lawlessness."

Don Freed and Shirley Sutherland were active members of the Friends of the Panthers. Freed is a prominent author and she is active in the anti-war movement.

On Oct. 2, 1969, Los Angeles police and federal agents raided their homes and in Freed's living room the government alleged the agents found an unopened box of hand grenades.

Judge Ferguson dismissed all charges against the defendants on Feb. 16, 1970.

The U.S. attorney appealed the court dismissal of the charges, and won it. Eventually the trial was rescheduled for Dec. 1, when Special Prosecutor Dennis E. Kinnard made his dramatic move to drop the charges.

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## Waste and duplicity in intelligence gathering?

# Former CIA 'spy' comes in from the cold—into hot water

By Joanne Leedom

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Boston

In the basement of his home in Oakton, Va., with dogs and children running havoc around him, Victor Marchetti wrote a spy novel last year. Today Mr. Marchetti and his new book "The Rope Daneer" are stirring up havoc of another kind just a few miles from his home, at Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) headquarters where Mr. Marchetti was an official just two years ago.

Today Mr. Marchetti is the spy "who came in from the cold—into hot water," to quote one of his friends. Now an outspoken critic of the agency, Mr. Marchetti has been traveling around the country promoting his exposé of the spy's world and crusading for reform in the CIA.

Mr. Marchetti left the CIA after a 14-year career in protest over what he asserts is its waste and duplicity in intelligence gathering, its increasing involvement with the military, its amorality, and what he says now is its subtle shifts to "domestic spying."

Reform, he says, in the entire intelligence network should be three-pronged: (1) reorganizing responsibilities, (2) reducing size dered by President Nixon. Placing CIA director Richard Helms as overall coordinator of national intelligence recently was in part aimed at eliminating the waste in the nation's \$6 billion/200,000-man intelligence operation which spans a dozen government and funding, and (3) exposing the intelligence community to more public control and scrutiny.

### Silence maintained

The CIA, in its turn, has remained customarily silent to the public attack. However, one former top CIA official, who asked to remain anonymous, agreed with some of Mr. Marchetti's points but disputed his main arguments.

Since Mr. Marchetti began speaking out several months ago, a major restructuring in the intelligence community has been on the agenda. It was also aimed at tailoring intelligence output more closely to White House needs.

This reform and Mr. Marchetti's own criticism come at a time when Congress, too, is demanding more knowledge and control over the intelligence networks. For the first time Congress has ordered public hearings on the CIA next year, and Mr. Marchetti plans to testify.

### Military influence

In Boston Mr. Marchetti explained his own "defection": "My discontent with the

agency was hard for me to identify at first. I began first to criticize the waste. This is ridiculous, I thought. We could be doing the job for \$2 billion less.

"The second thing that was most annoying to me was the military influence. This is very pervasive. When the Secretary of Defense controls 85 percent of the assets, he [the CIA director] doesn't have the muscle to make changes. The military influence in many ways is the greatest single factor of waste. They want to know more and more and are responsible for collection overkill."

To these two criticisms, the former CIA official who worked close to the director and who responded for The Christian Science Monitor, partly agreed. "There is unfortunately an awful lot of duplication," he said, but added, "What is needed is tighter control over the military [not the CIA]. It's not a question of the CIA duplicating the military, but of the military duplicating what the CIA does. The President's reorganization is a strong move in the right direction."

Another one of Mr. Marchetti's complaints is that the traditional intelligence work of gathering and assessing information has been "contaminated" with paramilitary activity.

A prime example is Laos where the CIA recruited and armed thousands of natives, says Mr. Marchetti, who worked in the CIA as an intelligence analyst, as special assistant to the chief of plans, programs, and budgets, to the executive director, and finally as executive assistant to the agency's deputy director.

"[At the time] perhaps a handful of key congressmen and senators might have known about this activity in Laos. The public knew nothing," he declared.

According to the former CIA administrator, however, paramilitary activity is shifting out of the CIA now and into the Army. "But in any case," he said, "the CIA doesn't decide on this activity; they are directed by the President and the National Security Council." If there is to be reform in the use of the CIA, he argues, it must come from the President's direction.

While Mr. Marchetti is highly critical of the CIA's paramilitary and clandestine interventions in other countries, he insists that the real threat of the CIA today is that it may "unleash" itself on this country.

### Concern noticed

"In recent years as domestic unrest increased, I've noticed the CIA is concerned about the FBI's apparent inability to handle subversion in this country. I think there's an effort to convince the nation that the CIA should get into domestic intelligence."

"Ridiculous," snapped the former CIA administrator, and left this charge at that. To reform the intelligence network, Mr. Marchetti says there should be a reorganization to limit the Defense Department to the routine intelligence needs of various departments — Army, Navy, etc.

"Then I'd put the National Security Agency under the control of the President and Congress," elaborated Mr. Marchetti. "Congress has very little knowledge about what goes on. The Pentagon papers and the way the Supreme Court acted strips away the shield intelligence has always had. We need to let a little sunshine in; that's the best safeguard."

### Laos example cited

The former administrator insists, however, that there are already adequate controls through special congressional committees which control appropriations and military affairs. "If you had the whole Congress and Senate debating these issues in executive session, you might as well do away with it [secret intelligence operations]. Inevitably there would be leaks."

"Of course there would be leaks," admitted Mr. Marchetti. "What I'm really saying is that in the final analysis if we made the President walk through it [his decision to use covert forces in foreign countries], the President would see it's all not worth it. Then if we deny ourselves these alternatives we'd have to act in a diplomatic fashion."

STATINTL

**'Rope Dancer' Author Raps 'Cold-War' Mentality****CIA Needs Modernizing, Ex-Official**

A former agent who walked out of an executive position with the Central Intelligence Agency sees the need for vast revisions in the U.S. intelligence system.

Victor Marchetti, after 14 years with the CIA, said his attitude began to change when he was special assistant to the deputy director.

"I saw a country and a world that was changing," he said, "but the agency was not. Since the end of World War II they have been clinging to a cold-war mentality, an Us against Them attitude... the belief that we should be in every rinkydink country to protect them against communism."

HE TOLD HIS bosses how he felt, quit his job, and, to pass along his views to the public, wrote a book.

"The Rope Dancer", published Sept. 9 by Grosset & Dunlap, is a spy novel. But Marchetti's fictional characters say everything he would say himself. The message was incisive enough, according to Marchetti, to evoke a series of phone calls that carried "thinly veiled warnings" from CIA brass.

The book caused little stir, he said, until newspaper and magazine reporters discovered it. It received national attention when U. S. News and World Report devoted a cover story to espionage last month. Since then, many newspapers have discussed the subject.

"I tried to get the message across with a nonfiction book," he said, "but I

gave it up. I said it all in the novel and it turned out to be a better idea."

THE RECENT NEWS that Richard Helms, CIA director, would be given expanded responsibility, pleases Marchetti.

"The consolidation of intelligence agencies will be a money saver," he said, "and military influence should be lessened."

The presidential reorganization plan is aimed in the right direction, but he believes Congress should have more representation.

Marchetti feels the Nixon administration was embarrassed by military counter-intelligence failures—specifically the erroneous information on which it tried a dramatic helicopter rescue of U.S. prisoners of war in North Vietnam.

"The system is too big, unwieldy and poorly organized," he said. "It must be constantly reviewed and controlled."

TOTAL FREEDOM of decision, Marchetti believes, might lead to covert CIA involvement with dissident groups in the United States. He said he has heard discussions in CIA halls on proposals to infiltrate various "fringe" organizations.

The ideal arrangement, he said, would be for the CIA to handle foreign espionage, for the military to handle military problems only, and for domestic problems to be left to the FBI.

The agency has no need for such extreme secrecy, he says, and no reason to refuse examination of its \$6-billion budget.

Marchetti's spy thriller is scheduled for movie production. The author was in Cleveland on the final leg of a 16-day book promotional tour.

STATINTL

**Contends Here**

# No next assignment for this spy

BY POLK LAFFOON

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Once during the conversation his hands seemed to shake. He was lighting his second or third cigarette, rather a lot for the short time he had been talking. The nervous edge was peculiar — it didn't jibe with the kind of image Victor Marchetti had painted of himself.

A real-life spy who came in from the cold, Marchetti is a 14-year veteran of the Central Intelligence Agency who has just authored a book called "The Rope Dancer." The novel purports to show espionage work for what it really is, as Marchetti experienced it. What he described, while dressing last Thursday morning, is hardly nerve-fraying.

"Not all spies are dashing, handsome, deconair," he said with anti-James Bond certainty. "The average spy is married and lives in the suburbs, belongs to the PTA, or is a scoutmaster." Marchetti was all of those things, and he indicated that his job was equally unextraordinary.

"I WORKED OUT of Washington, was permanently assigned to headquarters, and occasionally went on overseas assignments. For example, years ago we were interested in Soviet military aid, so I might go to Indonesia for as long as ten weeks, to try to get a better handle on what the Soviets were up to."

But most of the time, the ex-agent stressed, he was engaged in collating and interpreting vast supplies of information coming in from sources all over the globe. It was painstaking, arduous work, bureaucratic tedium that differed from corporate tedium only in that it dealt with national security instead of marketing strategy.

"The bulk of the information acquired today is through satellites, overhead sensors, and electronic sensors," Marchetti said, again subverting the martini-mistress mystique that permeates espionage literature. He added that much additional information comes through diplomatic and official channels, with newspapers and magazines providing most of the remainder.

FIDGETING RESTLESSLY, the aspiring writer smiled, and partially amended his de-romanticized "heresy."

"Maybe 10 per cent of all the people engaged in espionage work are back alley spies. But of these, 19 out of 20 are faking it under the cover of diplomacy. They try to acquire local agents in the country where they're working."

To the disillusionment of spy-novel aficionados everywhere, however, Marchetti emphasized that there are very, very few agents living overseas without cover, and that their contribution is of marginal value. "It's kind of like fishing — you throw them out and sooner or later you get a strike."

No clue to the speaker's own unease emerged as he discussed his idea for the book. "I was just sitting around talking with another agent. We were saying that things in the agency were so screwed up that it wouldn't be surprising to find that a Russian was running it. We meant it as a joke, of course, but that's where the book began."

WITH THE PUBLICATION of "The Rope Dancer," Marchetti terminated a long, distinguished career with the CIA. He was assistant to the director of the entire agency when he resigned, and prospects for the future were good. So why did he quit?

"I'd lost a great deal of faith in the agency and its policies. If I couldn't believe in it, I couldn't serve it," he said sounding more like a campus politician than a hardbitten "spy." In truth, Marchetti left for a variety of reasons, some of them intriguing for the insights they lend to the arcane workings of the CIA.

While hardly a secret, the government is spending far in excess of what it should for defense. He labels the \$50 billion poured into defense each year, and the \$30 billion more for Vietnam, as

absurd with the problems at home. "It's ridiculous over-kill. We're like two guys standing across the street from each other with triggers on mortars, cannons, and rockets. We don't need it," he said, looping his tie.

IN HIS VIEW, the same kind of thinking that led to the arms buildup is reflected in the structure of the modern CIA. "It's too big, too costly, with too much military influence," Marchetti says the quality of the agency's product — good data — has been diluted accordingly. "We need more control from within the organization, and more directly from the outside."

Separately, Marchetti condemns the "cold war mentality" that colors much of the CIA's thinking, and translates to poor estimates of the international situation. "Cuba is the perfect example," he said eagerly, recounting the misguided thinking that led the U.S. to back Batista against Castro under the mistaken assumption that most Cubans also were anti-Castro.

Then, he says, when Castro won after all, the U.S. labeled him a Marxist and forced him into Russia's embrace. "That's what's wrong with Vietnam and Laos today," Marchetti continues, "we're trying to support governments not representative of the people."

ALMOST TO THE end of his reasons for resigning from the CIA, the cheerful novelist finished dressing, and readied himself to face anew the rigorous publicity tour. And still he eluded any indication of why he seemed slightly edgy.

"I disliked the clandestine atmosphere one finds in an organization like the CIA," he said, finalizing the list. "What bothers me most is when some guys got restless in the CIA and military intelligence a few years ago. With groups like the SDS, the Black Panthers, and with civil unrest in general, people in the CIA began to wonder what they should do about it."

Drawing on yet another cigarette, Marchetti explained that such internal disorders are properly the co the FBI or the army, not the CIA. Nevertheless, vociferous minority of the agents — the "spooks" — calls them — began to say, "We're the ones who should do the work."

THIS RATIONALE could lead to trouble at home as it already has in numerous small countries pockmarked by CIA interference. Marchetti dislik trendline, and resigned.

Gathering papers together to go meet his pul local representative, he mentioned that he was that he no longer is associated with an outfit instr in the conduct of the Vietnam war. He feels con free as he talks with his 17-year-old son, almost of fight the war, and a hearty disbeliever in it.

His clean conscience has been tempered by budgetary regrets, however. "I had to tell my son he wanted to go on to college, he'd have to manage way I did, by working his way through," Marchetti regrets that he has to be careful in acquiescing wife's requests for new living room furniture.

The problem is that in leaving the CIA, and a high within it, Marchetti was exercising an uncommon id — at least uncommon in 41-year-olds with a wife and three children. He left a \$23,000-a-year job, with promise of substantially more soon, for the vagu knowns of a writer's life.

Marchetti is morally at peace with himself. Whu precisely the key to his restlessness. He has a second in the works, and a possible third. He is a spy without his next assignment.

Incomplete as received.



11 OCT 1971

# THE CIA--An Attack and a Reply

## A FORMER STAFF OFFICER CRITICIZES CIA ACTIVITIES

Is the CIA starting to spy on Americans at home—turning talents and money against students, blacks, others? That is one of several key questions raised in a wide ranging criticism. A direct response starts on page 81.

### THE ATTACK

The following was written by Edward K. DeLong of United Press International, based on an interview with a Central Intelligence Agency official who has resigned. The dispatch was distributed by UPI for publication on October 3.

Victor Marchetti embarked 16 years ago on a career that was all any aspiring young spy could ask. But two years ago, after reaching the highest levels of the Central Intelligence Agency, he became disenchanted with what he perceived to be amorality, overwhelming military influence, waste and duplicity in the spy business. He quit.

Fearing today that the CIA may already have begun "going against the enemy within" the United States as they may conceive it—that is, dissident student groups and civil-rights organizations—Marchetti has launched a campaign for more presidential and congressional control over the entire U. S. intelligence community.

"I think we need to do this because we're getting into an awfully dangerous era when we have all this talent (for clandestine operations) in the CIA—and more being developed in the military, which is getting into clandestine "ops" (operations)—and there just aren't that many places any more to display that talent," Marchetti says.

"The cold war is fading. So is the war in Southeast Asia, except for Laos. At the same time, we're getting a lot of domestic problems. And there are people in the CIA who—if they aren't right now actually already running domestic operations against student groups, black movements and the like—are certainly considering it.

"This is going to get to be very tempting," Marchetti said in a recent interview at his comfortable home in Oakton, [Va.], a Washington suburb where many CIA men live.

"There'll be a great temptation for these people to suggest operations and for a President to approve them or to kind of look the other way. You have the danger of intelligence turning against the nation itself, going against the 'the enemy within.'"

Marchetti speaks of the CIA from an insider's point of view. At Pennsylvania State University he deliberately prepared himself for an intelligence career, graduating in 1955 with a degree in Russian studies and history.

Through a professor secretly on the CIA payroll as a talent scout, Marchetti netted the prize all would-be spies dream of—an immediate job offer from the CIA. The offer came during a secret meeting in a hotel room, set up by a stranger who telephoned and identified himself only as "a friend of your brother."

Marchetti spent one year as a CIA agent in the field and 10 more as an analyst of intelligence relating to the Soviet Union, rising through the ranks until he was helping prepare the national intelligence estimates for the White House. During this period, Marchetti says, "I was a hawk. I believed in what we were doing."

Then he was promoted to the executive staff of the CIA, moving to an office on the top floor of the Agency's headquarters across the Potomac River from Washington.

For three years he worked as special assistant to the CIA chief of plans, programs and budgeting, as special assistant to the CIA's executive director, and as executive assistant to the Agency's deputy director, V. Adm. Rufus L. Taylor.

"This put me in a very rare position within the Agency and within the intelligence community in general, in that I was in a place where it was being all pulled together," Marchetti said.

"I could see how intelligence analysis was done and how it fitted into the scheme of clandestine operations. It also gave me an opportunity to get a good view of the intelligence community, too: the National Security Agency, the DIA (Defense Intelligence Agency), the national reconnaissance organization—the whole bit. And I started to see the politics within the community and the politics between the community and the outside. This change of perspective during those three years had a profound effect on me, because I began to see things I didn't like."

With many of his lifelong views about the world shattered, Marchetti decided to abandon his chosen career. One of the last things he did in CIA was to write to Director Richard Helms why he was leaving.



Mr. Marchetti

continued

WICHITA FALLS, TEX.  
RECORD-NEWS

M - 30,916  
OCT 8 1971

## Danger from within

✓ The American people should take seriously the warning from a top intelligence agent that the CIA may succumb to the temptation to pry inordinately into internal affairs of this nation. Victor Marchetti is campaigning for more presidential and congressional control over the entire U.S. intelligence community.

✓ His words have the ring of authority. He spent 16 years with the Central Intelligence Agency, rising eventually to a position in which he prepared intelligence estimates for the White House. He thinks the CIA is too costly and open to too much military influence.

But, primarily, he fears that the CIA may, with the end of the cold war in Europe and the war in Vietnam, "turn

on the United States" itself. That is, begin operating against student groups, political movements, etc.

✓ If a man of his background and knowledge fears such developments, then it might be time for all Americans to be alert to the dangers. A police-type society is contrary to all that America stands for, and one of the last things we want to happen here.

But it could happen here, and we hope that the President and congress will concern themselves more with this agency which has had, in the past, singular freedom of action.

Americans must continue to be aware of dangers from within along with those from outside our boundaries.

## Special Report

# CIA Charged With Waste, Amorality

By EDWARD K. DELONG

OAKTON, Va. — (UPI) — Victor Marchetti embarked 16 years ago on a career that was all any aspiring young spy could ask.

But two years ago, after reaching the highest levels of the Central Intelligence Agency, he became disenchanted with what he perceived to be amorality, overwhelming military influence, waste and duplicity in the spy business. He quit.

Fearing today that the CIA may already have begun "going against the enemy within" the United States as they may conceive it — that is, dissident student groups and civil rights organizations — Marchetti has launched a campaign for more presidential and congressional control over the entire U. S. intelligence community.

"I THINK WE NEED to do this because we're getting into an awfully dangerous era when we have all this talent (for clandestine operations) in the CIA — and more being developed in the military, which is getting into clandestine ops (operations) — and there just aren't that many places anymore to display that talent," Marchetti says.

"The cold war is fading. So is the war in Southeast Asia, except for Laos. At the same time, we're getting a lot of domestic problems. And there are people in the CIA who — if they aren't right now actually already running domestic operations against student groups, black movements and the like — are certainly considering it.

This is going to get to be very tempting," Marchetti said in a recent interview at his comfortable home in Oakton, a Washington suburb where many CIA men live.

"There'll be a great temptation for these people to suggest operations and for a President to approve them or to kind of look the other way. You have the danger of intelligence turning against the nation itself, going against 'the enemy within.'"

MARCHETTI SPEAKS of the CIA from an insider's point of view.

At Pennsylvania State University he deliberately prepared himself for an intelligence career, graduating in 1955 with a degree in Russian studies and history.

Through a professor secretly on the CIA payroll as a talent scout, Marchetti netted the prize all would-be spies dream of — an immediate job offer from the CIA. The offer came during a secret meeting in a hotel room, set up by a stranger who telephoned and identified himself only as "a friend of your brother."

Marchetti spent one year as a CIA agent in the field and 10 more as an analyst of intelligence relating to the Soviet Union, rising through the ranks until he was helping prepare the national intelligence estimates for the White House.

During this period, Marchetti says, "I was a hawk. I believed in what we were doing."

THEN HE WAS PROMOTED to the executive staff of the CIA, moving to the top floor of the agency's headquarters across the Po-

For three years he worked as special assistant to the CIA chief of plans, programs and budgeting; as special assistant to the CIA's executive director; and as executive assistant to the agency's deputy director, Vice Adm. Rufus L. Taylor.

"This put me in a very rare position within the agency and within the intelligence community in general, in that I was in a place where it was being all pulled together," Marchetti said.

"I could see how intelligence analysis was done, and how it fitted into the scheme of clandestine operations. It also gave me an opportunity to get a good view of the intelligence community, too. The National Security Agency. The DIA (Defense Intelligence Agency). The National Reconnaissance Organization. The whole bit.

"And I started to see the politics within the community and the politics between the community

and the outside. This change of perspective during those three years had a profound effect on me, because I began to see things I didn't like."

WITH many of his life-long views about the world shattered, Marchetti decided to abandon his chosen career. One of the last things he did at the CIA was to explain to Director Richard Helms why he was leaving.

"I told him I thought the intelligence community and the intelligence agency were too big and too costly, that I thought there was too much military influence or intelligence — and very bad effects from that — and that I felt the need for more control and more direction.

"The clandestine attitude, the amorality of it all, the cold war mentality — these kinds of things made me feel the agency was really out of step with the times," Marchetti said.

"We parted friends. I cried all the way home."

Marchetti, 41, hardly looks the stereotype of a man who spent 14 years in the CIA.

His dark rimmed glasses, full face, slightly stout figure, soft voice, curly black hair and bushy sideburns would seem more at home on a college campus. He pronounces his name the Italian way — Marketti.

MARCHETTI'S first impulse after quitting the CIA was to write a non-fiction account of what was wrong with the U. S. intelligence community. But, he said, he could not bring himself to do it then.

Instead he wrote a spy novel, "a reaction to the James Bond and British spy story stereotypes," which he says looks at the intelligence business realistically from the headquarters point of view he knows so well.

The novel, "The Rope Dancer," was published last month. It is a thinly disguised view of the inner struggle over Vietnam and

CIA, the Pentagon and the White House under President Johnson.

Writing the novel took a year. Then came two tries at non-fiction articles, one rejected as too dull and the other turned down as too chatty, and a start on a second novel.

But Marchetti said the need for intelligence reform continued to gnaw at him, and as his first novel was about to come out he came into contact with others who agreed with him, including Rep. Herman Badillo, D-N.Y.

Now, Marchetti said, the second novel has been laid aside so he can devote full time to a campaign for reform.

ALTHOUGH NOW a dove, particularly on Vietnam which he calls an unwinnable war to "support a crooked, corrupt regime that cannot even run an election that looks honest," Marchetti says he still believes strongly in the need for intelligence collection.

"It's a fact of life," he said. "For your own protection, you need to know what other people are thinking.

"But intelligence is now a \$6 billion a year business, and that is just too big. It can be done for a lot less, and perhaps done better when you cut out the waste."

For instance, Marchetti said, the National Security Agency — charged in part with trying to decode intercepted messages of foreign governments — wastes about half its \$1 billion yearly budget.

"They have boxcars full of tapes up at Ft. Meade that are 10 years old. Boxcars full! Because in intercepting Soviet (radio) communications, for instance, the Soviets are just as sophisticated as we are in scrambler systems. It is almost a technical impossibility to break a scrambled, coded message.

"So they just keep collecting the stuff and putting it in boxcars. They continue to listen all over the world. They continue to spend fortunes trying to duplicate the Soviet (scrambling and encoding) computers," he said.

"By the time someone can break it, a decade or two has gone by. So you find out what they were thinking 20 years ago. So what?"

MARCHETTI said at one time a national intelligence review board tried to cut out an expensive NSA program that analysts agreed was useless. The CIA director, he said, wrote a memorandum recommending the program stop.

STATINTL



E - 80,569

SEP 23 1971

20 The Herald-News, Thurs., September 23, 1971

## What young people think

*Only minority backs riots*

By NANCY GILBERT

The Youth Service

To riot or not to riot? That is the question that faces most students these days at some point in their high school or college years. And in a recent survey 72.3 per cent answered in the negative when asked if they would participate in a riot.

Surprisingly, more girls than boys said they would be willing to make this form of protest, and more than twice as many high school as college students indicated their readiness to take violent action.

For most of those who were against the idea it is a matter of principle, but some admitted that they were afraid of getting hurt. Many pointed out that this was not the best way to get things accomplished.

"Rioting is not the proper way to get yourself heard," says David Behne, 20, of Hubbard, Ohio. "Through the proper channels is the better way." "I am against any form of violence because I don't think it gets you anywhere," agrees Jean Frost, 19, of State College, Pa.

"I think talking things out with other people is a lot better than throwing things and shouting," declares Gail Holys, 17, of Miami, Fla. Steven

Caballero, 17, of Englewood Cliffs, N.J., notes that "A riot is disorder and violence, two of the things that hinder unity and peace."

Those who would be willing to participate often explained that they could do so only if the purpose was of great importance to them and if they thought it was right. Donald Cohen, 18, of Pittsburgh, Pa., would use this means if he felt it was the only way in which some problem could be solved.

"There are times when action has to be taken and it is your responsibility to take it, no matter what the consequences, but it has to be something worthwhile," insists Alfred Driscoll, 19, of Boston.

George Cutler, 20, of Louisville, Ky., concurs: "Unfortunately many of the most important issues being dealt with today have been raised because people rioted and made them public; otherwise we still wouldn't have civil rights, etc."

"If I believed in something I would try my hardest to make other people believe in it too, and sometimes to do this you have to riot," says Michele Green, 19, also of Louisville.

Of those polled 26.9 per cent reported that their school had some kind of student uprising last year, with the fewest insti-

ances of this type of activity occurring in the North Central states and the most in the South.

Though only three out of 10 boys and girls believe the government generally is handling student riots in the best way possible, 63.7 per cent do think the FBI and the CIA are justified in keeping files on students participating in them. The South is most in agreement with this policy, as are more collegians than high schoolers.

"The FBI and CIA are there to guard the security of our country and anybody who does something against it should be investigated," maintains Ellen Potters, 17, of East Haven, Conn. "They need to find out why it ever happened," says Nancy Tremont, 19, of Pittsburgh. "This way they can check on the people and find out who is really responsible."

Others are against the practice. "Nobody has the right to check on people and give them a bad name because they stood for something they believe in. It's not democratic," says Claudia Welish, 18, of Houston, Tex.

Alan Steats, 19, of New Rochelle, N.Y., sees it as a start of something more sinister: "In my eyes both agencies conducting themselves this way is the beginning of an Orwellian society like that described in 1984," he said.

SEP 22 1971

STATINTL

X WEEK - 77,471

# How the non-violent promote violence

By Brett Seieroni  
(Second in a series)

A revolutionary film dedicated to the Communist guerrilla, Che Guevara, was shown at Hinton Center and again at Fresno State College over the weekend of August 13 and 15.

I attended the showing of this film. It was a documentary on Argentina entitled "The Hour of the Furnaces." It said that Cuba was the first free country in Latin America and called for unity in the war against the United States.

The Hinton Center, which was mainly built and supported with taxpayer's money, showed the film on August 13. It was shown at FSC on August 15.

The film was brought to Fresno by one of the managers of the Shanti Co-op Bookstore, which is

located a few blocks south of Fresno City College. He told me he hopes to use the funds received from the Fresno State College showing to bring the second part of the same film to Fresno. He says the second part is even more "controversial" than the film I saw.

The Shanti Bookstore sells radical literature on both violent and non-violent revolution. The manager said he believed in non-violence, but that he brought the film to Fresno in order to educate the people about violence. However, nothing was said either before or after the showing of the films about non-violence. The film itself advocated revolutionary violence and hatred.

Although much of the film dealt with poverty in Latin America, it

was decidedly anti-American. The United States was blamed for poverty in South America and was repeatedly labeled as a neo-colonial force. Even the Peace Corps was seen as part of American neo-colonialism.

The film also charged that all means of communication are controlled by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The Communist Viet Cong were shown as a reaction against American imperialism. The film proposed that rebellion and organization for revolution was the answer to problems in Latin America.

The opening scenes of the movie showed demonstrations and violence and it was made plain that the United States was the cause of violence in Latin America. The

film proposed that a people without hate cannot triumph and that a long, cruel war is necessary. The film ends with a picture of Communist Che Guevara after he had been killed by the Bolivian Army. As the viewer sees Guevara's body lying there, the narrator calls for revolutionary violence.

The film, "The Hour of the Furnaces" is distributed by the Third World Cinema Group of Berkeley. Other films offered by them include interviews with guerrilla Regis Debray, Marxist Salvador Allende, and one of the Arab terrorist organizations, Al Fatch.

After the film was shown, the movie projector asked for donations to bring the second part of the film to Fresno. Most people in the audience gave him some money.

23 JUN 1971

# Letters to the Editor

## Dossier Dictatorship

To the Editor:

There comes a time in every nation's history when that nation must begin to question why it exists, for whom does it exist, and what changes are necessary in order to insure its future existence.

As to the first two, the answers are easily ascertained. But the latter proposition requires introspection.

Within the past month there have been a great many people talking about the impending danger of Government-sponsored secret organizations and the threat that those organizations may have on the stability of America — F.B.I., C.I.A., J. Edgar Hoover, et al.

Among those crying out in the wilderness are Michigan law professor Arthur R. Miller and Senator Sam Ervin. They have been crying out for a long time, but only now are they being heard. We are coming dangerously close to a "dossier dictatorship" as predicted by Professor Miller.

This new revelation has hit such individuals as Senator Ed Muskie, Representative Hale Boggs, et al. With the recent "coup" on the F.B.I. files in Pennsylvania, it became quite evident that the trusted bureaucracy of J. Edgar Hoover has now turned upon those who "march to the beat of a different drum" to preserve his future and protect this country.

For example, Senator Muskie, Representative Boggs and my former employer and friend Senator Hubert H. Humphrey—no doubt because of his liberal views on various issues—have fallen victims to the lurking evil of the "dossier dictatorship." Such activities on the part of the F.B.I., C.I.A., et al., have a "chilling effect" on First Amendment rights.

Yet, despite the incantations of many people, the director of the C.I.A., Richard Helms, tells the American public that such agencies as the C.I.A. are "necessary to the survival of a democratic society" and goes on to ask the nation to "take it on faith that we too are honorable men devoted to their service."

Mr. Helms' reasoning is tragic. It recalls Lord Acton's historic warning on power: "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

America must be awakened from her deep slumber and realize the frightening nightmare she has been having is a potential reality—an imminent reality.

We must realize that the Peters of the country do not shout wolf for want of a wolf: A wolf does exist in the form of J. Edgar Hoover, the F.B.I., Army Intelligence, the C.I.A., et al.

ROBERT T. PICKETT

American Law Students Assn., Inc.  
 Ann Arbor, Mich., June 8, 1971

STATINTL

### **LAW OFFICERS GET A STUDENT NOD**

CUPERTINO, Calif. (AP)  
—All narcotics officers, FBI  
agents and members of the  
Central Intelligence Agency  
will get a cash discount on  
admission to student activi-  
ties at Deanza Junior Col-  
lege. ✓

The college's student  
council approved unanimous-  
ly yesterday the 20 percent  
discount for agents who  
show proper identification.

30 May 1971

STATINTL

# What do you know about

# YOUR CREDIT SHADOW?

Edwin Black, a free-lance writer, spent three months investigating the credit bureau industry in Chicago. This is the first of his two-part series.

By Edwin Black

**J**OSEPH CURRY—Chicago salesman with a wife and child, two-bedroom home, one car, a dog and a color TV—decided it was time to move up to a better paying job. So Joe applied to a new company, was interviewed and hired. Wonderful, right?

Wonderful, wrong. Because now, Joe is working day after day with a boss who knows how long it takes him to pay bills, and what bills he didn't pay last month, from whom and how often he borrows money, whom his close friends are, what his neighbors think of him—and worst of all, that he was sued by his former wife five years ago for nonpayment of alimony.

Shocking? Not to the boss, who checks into the personal life of possible employees every day. It's routine, and as easy as picking up the phone and dialing the number of the credit bureau.

Every transaction you make, cash or credit, is a possible entry into your own credit history. Since you reached 21, your life has been capsulized on computer tape and index cards and filed with the credit bureau.

And that information is available, not only to employers and creditors, but to detective agencies, the federal government, and even your next door neighbors. It amounts to a giant credit shadow, lurking behind you every step of the way.

**C**redit defined is simply trust, from the Latin word *credo*, which means "I believe." A retail store or mail-order house will trust you with merchandise or services on your promise to pay. Without this magical American phenomenon, large department stores would lose 60 per cent of their business, chain stores 40 per cent, and the economy in general would shrivel.

Credit sales are so important that

J. C. Penney didn't mind spending over \$20 million last year to support its charge and revolving charge accounts department.

To minimize the high risk of granting credit, an entire industry has been created—the credit bureau industry. In Chicago, creditors utilize three major consumer credit reporting bureaus—Credit Bureau of Cook County, Chicago Credit Bureau and TRW Credit Data.

Credit Bureau of Cook County, largest in the world, stockpiles information on five million Chicago-area individuals. Each file contains an address and employment history, a complete list of existing credit accounts or purchases, the length of time it took to pay the bills, any existing unpaid bills, any financial lawsuits including full docket details, any liens, any bank accounts, any loans, any inquiries from any other creditors and anything else of surface interest to any business concern contemplating extending any credit of any size, on any terms.

Altho most of this data is now stored manually in long rows of metal files, C. B. C. C. by July 1, will convert totally to CHRONUS, a gigantic computer system that retrieves complete files in less than a second. For under \$2, this information is available to any registered C. B. C. C. subscriber.

**W**ho can subscribe? Retail establishments, oil companies, airlines, banks, loan companies, detective agencies, government agencies, private social clubs, doctors, dentists, lawyers—any legitimate businessman or company. The subscriber merely phones in his identification code and the facts are immediately found and read over the phone. For an additional charge, a typed copy will be mailed. No purpose need be given. It's that simple and happens thousands of times each day from 3,200

out of state.

To illustrate how accessible these confidential reports are, I obtained a full report on a business friend thru five different bureaus. C. B. C. C. released the information to a doctor friend of mine registered with the bureau. TRW Credit Data released the information to a clerk working in a small clothing shop. Chicago Credit Bureau blindly co-operated with a used car salesman. And two other minor bureaus co-operated with me after I first pretended to verify the code number of a large department store, and then called again using that code number.

TRW Credit Data is a national service that stores all its records in an expansive computer complex in California. TRW has information on four million Chicago area residents along with millions of individuals in other cities, but limits its reports strictly to consumer credit reports [no character reports]. It maintains a unique "protest code" to indicate whether a consumer disputes an unpaid bill and will not deliver information to any seekers except those who grant credit. This at least excludes detective agencies and kindred snoops.

Chicago Credit Bureau, the city's first credit bureau, is as yet uncomputerized. It follows a credit check philosophy similar to TRW's, but offers an extra service to its hundreds of Chicagoland clients: confidential character reports which are written evaluations of a consumer's "personal history, character, integrity, credit record and health." to quote the current pamphlet. These confidential reports are available to subscribers for \$5 each and to nonsubscribers [inquirers with only an occasional need] for \$10 each.

While Chicago Credit Bureau limits these profiles to its credit extending clients, other bureaus offer much more detailed reports to almost anyone. For \$15, Credit Bureau of Cook County sells what they call a "P-code" report ["P" stands for personnel]. P-codes are thorough investigations that include past associa-

DAILY WORLD

*Our readers say--*

EDITOR  
THE DAILY WORLD  
205 WEST 19th ST.  
NEW YORK 10011

STATINTL

#### ANOTHER REICHSTAG ATTEMPT

The bombing of the Capitol building has all the earmarks of a crude reincarnation of the burning of the Reichstag three and a half decades ago.

Then the nazis on the verge of seizing power in Germany, but lacking public support, craved for some dramatic event to give them a boost. Hitler boisterously proclaimed that the destruction of the Capitol building was the incendiary contrivance of communists.

Now the hawks in this country find themselves ideologically bankrupt. The large majority of the people believe that most of the high ranking military, including the CIA, are war criminals. The war mongers are in desperate need of some dramatic occurrence to give them a boost. The bombing of the capitol is such an event. There are amongst them unscrupulous agents assiduously striving to shift the onus onto their political opponents.

The nazis, notwithstanding their unprincipled use of power, were unable to secure the conviction of Georgi Dimitrov, the Bulgarian communist leader, whom they had singled out to be the scapegoat. Instead, in the course of the trial, and of time, the nazis themselves were exposed as the perpetrators of the crime.

In the course of events it will become clear that the Capitol building bombing is the contrivance

of provocateurs with the perverse intent of discrediting the peace movement. Thus instead of vindicating their nefarious undertakings they will become further besmirched and their effectiveness still more eroded. It is time for the astute and patriotic citizens who love our country to stop this underhandedness and prevent further loss of prestige and the contempt of world opinion.

W. C. SANDBERG, Cleveland, Ohio

WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS

10 MAY 1971

'Man, we've really infiltrated this outfit . . . there's no one here but us FBI, CIA, DIA, Secret Service and local fuzz'





PERMERTON, WASH.

SUN MAY 6 1971

E - 25,301

# Sahl Blames CIA For Much Violence

By TRAVIS BAKER  
Sun Staff Writer

Comic Mort Sahl, who was gaffing the establishment before a large segment of the country decided that was a treasonous pursuit, is still gaffing it.

Last night at Olympic College, Sahl delivered a scattergun condemnation of the state of the union, hitting the administration, military, Central Intelligence Agency, organized religion, his fellow comedians, consumerists like Ralph Nader and the media.

He painted a picture of a CIA agent behind every tree, responsible for the killing of John F. and Robert F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King, for the nomination of Gen. Curtis LeMay as George Wallace's running mate in 1968 and for much campus violence.

Students should assume everyone is with the CIA until they prove otherwise, Sahl said, and when someone new with left-wing credentials appears on the scene, "be a little more paranoid."

The CIA, he claimed, has spent 70 per cent of its budget in recent years inside the country. He cited instances in Ann Arbor, Mich., at UCLA and in Chicago and New York in which he said paid police informers or government agents led or were prominent in student violence.

"If no one on your campus blows anything up, write to Washington. They'll send you someone directly."

The CIA is good at what it does, though, Sahl tacitly admitted. "The CIA owned Laos for 10 years and we didn't know it. The Army was in there for an hour and a half and had its footprints all over the walls."

On President Nixon, he said, "Talk about insulated!" Both JFK and LBJ visibly showed the



MORT SAHL READS FROM WEDNESDAY'S SUN

Fast-talking satirist speaks at OC

—Sun Photo by Richard Ellis.

strain after a short time in office, but "look at Nixon. What, me worry?"

He said the President has told him his favorite position in talking to a group is standing with a group in a circle around him — so that he can assume any position easily — "which is my basic objection to him."

JFK never received a proper autopsy, he said, because he was flown out of Texas, where state law requires a post-mortem on anyone who's killed, to Washington, where an Army major general allegedly intimidated Col. Pierre Finck, the

examining medic, into doing practically nothing.

Sahl claimed Kennedy was shot from in front, not from in back as the Warren Report says. "The Warren Report cost \$7 million and doesn't tell you anything about how the president was killed," he said.

He saw a similar plot in Rev. Martin Luther King's murder, and the government's subsequent reluctance to try James Earl Ray, putting him away for 99 years on a guilty plea instead.

He blasted Bob Hope as a hired government man: "A lot

of people say he's a great patriot, but I've never heard anyone say he's funny. John Wayne is also a great patriot. I felt sorry for him during World War II, biting his lip because he couldn't go enlist."

"A lot of comedians say when things are this serious, you can't joke about them. But you can joke about anything."

He admitted, however, that his drawing power is now limited pretty much to colleges. "Most audiences can't be joked with because they're threatened."



### *Incredible*

The House has voted by a whopping 298 to 75 to give its Internal Security Committee (formerly Un-American Activities Committee) a record \$570,000 budget. The vote also rejects an Administration Committee proposal that the sum be held to the previous record high of only \$450,000. This means the Internal Security Committee will receive more than many of the traditional standing committees of Congress but, of course, Chairman Ichord of Missouri assured members that the group needed the funds to investigate whether Communists directed recent antiwar demonstrations.

Thirty years ago the committee was investigating whether Communists directed appeals for better welfare payments and New Deal legislation. Today, the suspects naturally include those who want peace in the world, civil rights at home, or anything else worth demonstrating for. Representative Drinan of Massachusetts, a Roman Catholic priest and member of the committee, says such suspects add 700,000 names of individuals or groups to the committee files.

Considering total appropriations for the subversive-hunters through the years, the expenditure comes to something like \$13 a name. It is a small sum, perhaps, to guarantee the nation against the threat posed by some worthy causes. What with the Ichord committee, the CIA, the FBI, and the intelligence branches of the Army, Navy and Air Force, not to mention the Secret Service, many Americans will sleep better knowing they are safer from subversion. ✓

## Skolnick talk on CIA set

STATINTL

Sherman Skolnick, legal researcher, will speak at 7:30 tonight in room 141 Commerce West on "The Courts, the CIA, and the Army Spies."

Skolnick, called a "legal gadfly," has been active in movements for judicial reform and has charged in federal court that the FBI is linked to the assassination of John F. Kennedy.

He has also charged that the CIA is involved in many levels of society, including the peace movement and that the CIA worked in the Chicago Conspiracy trial to discredit the peace movement.

# Uncovered Agents

By Art Buchwald

What happened to all the antiwar protestors of yesterday? Well, in spite of what you read in the newspapers, they're still around. Only they're a new breed and in many ways much tougher.

I went to an antiwar rally at the Washington Monument the other day with my friend Dumbarton who works on demonstrations for the Secret Service. Dumbarton was dressed in dungarees, had long hair and was carrying a guitar which was really a very sensitive tape recorder.

When we arrived at the mall we saw five bearded students carrying a Vietcong flag.

"Hey Dumbarton," I said, "they look like anarchists."

"Nah," said Dumbarton in disgust. "They're FBI undercover agents. I saw them last week at Harvard."

We walked around. There were six students, all with peace symbols painted on their navels, sitting in a circle smoking what surely smelt like grass.

"Look, Dumbarton," I said excitedly. "Communists."

Dumbarton shook his head in disgust. "They're from the Naval Civilian Intelligence Unit. The guy waving the photograph of Ho Chi Minh is really a Lt. Commander in the Seabees."

We walked away. Suddenly I said, "Dumbarton, we're being followed by those four girls in dungarees."

Dumbarton looked around. "It's okay. They're from the Air Force Intelligence Squadron at Andrews Field."

"But they're girls," I said.

"The Air Force always dresses their agents in drag," Dumbarton said. "They don't want their people to be mistaken for Naval Intelligence agents."

A fight broke out amongst 50 demonstrators standing near the speaker's platform. They were going at it thick and heavy.

"My God," I said. "That looks like real trouble."

"Don't get upset. Half the guys are from the Army Civilian Intelligence Unit at Fort Holibird and the other half are from the Army Civilian Intelligence Unit at the Pentagon."

"Each outfit claims they have jurisdiction in Washington. You should have seen the brawl they had at draft headquarters a few weeks ago. After it was over both sides issued body counts."

"Why don't the police break it up?"

"Most of the cops here are from the Washington, D.C., Undercover Squad and they don't want to let on to anyone who they are."

The speeches began. One bearded student shouted, "The blankety blank blanks are not going to push us around. We'll put them up against the wall."

"Have you got your tape machine going?" I asked Dumbarton.

"What for?" Dumbarton said. "He's from the Internal Revenue Service Intelligence Unit. I wish he'd get a new speech."

The next speaker was introduced as a Swede who had just come back from Hanoi.

"That's the CIA's man," Dumbarton said in disgust. "They have to get in the act all the time."

As we were listening Dumbarton suddenly froze. "You see those four kids over there with the 'Free Father Berigan' signs? I've never seen them before. This could be the real thing." He turned on the tape recorder in his guitar and we went over behind them.

One of the students turned around, "Hey, Dumbarton," he said in surprise, "what the hell are you doing here?"

"Collins," Dumbarton said. "What are you doing here?"

"I'm with the National Park Service Anti Subversive Corps."

"You're the last person I expected to see here," Dumbarton said.

"Well, it's better than fighting forest fires."

20 FEB 1971

**LORDS EXPOSE AGENT**

Police and possibly CIA infiltration of the Young Lords party in New York City, coupled with a grand jury investigation of the party now in progress, were revealed last week by Young Lords Minister of Information Pablo "Yoruba" Guzman. He warned the party now fears a conspiracy indictment against the six members of its central committee.

The Lords expelled Carlo Aponte Feb. 7 and denounced him as a police agent. A statement released by the party said that Aponte, an education lieutenant in the New York city branch, was believed to be an agent either for the CIA or the CIC, the police intelligence arm of the Puerto Rican government. He was identified as a police agent by "friends in the police department." At the same time it was announced that five other agents had also infiltrated the party, but had since been expelled.

The grand jury investigation also coincides with the mysterious burglarizing of apartments belonging to Young Lords members in which party papers and documents have been stolen, an increase in arrests and police surveillance. The party has also continued to grow and is opening a branch office in Puerto Rico.

18 Feb 1971

## Our lethal weapon

Dick Gregory said Tuesday night the CIA is now controlling the government and is plotting for complete military takeover eventually. He cited as evidence some reports linking the CIA with the assassinations of King and the Kennedys.

Piecing together "conspiracies" has always been an exercise in paranoia, but Gregory gave UM students plenty to think about. When you start trying to put together conspiracy puzzles, it's hard to stop. The Federal Government is a case in point, exhuming the Chicago 7, the Seattle 7, the Oakland 7, Angela Davis and the Soledad Brothers, and now the Berrigan Brothers, in short order.

One might wonder what conspiracy is keeping the flattest foot of them all—J. Edgar Hoover—in office. If it were anyone but J. Edgar, the actions and words of the man would be enough to provoke any President into shoving his lard-ass off the scales of justice and replace him with a man whose interest is justice.

Hoover hardly conducts himself with the demeanor of a high federal officer. His speech is laden with invective racial slurs. He has even felt compelled to assassinate the characters of two murdered American leaders, Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, and that makes one think again of conspiracy. Under Hoover's 'leadership' the FBI has evolved into a right-wing politicized gestapo rather than a law enforcement agency.

Some of his latest insanity revolves around the Berrigan Brothers case. The number one G-man revealed this insidious plot last November in a Congressional hearing.

He said the Berrigan Brothers, both Catholic priests, were planning to bomb underground heating ducts in Washington, D.C., and kidnap Presidential Adviser Henry Kissinger in an attempt to force the government out of Indochina and into releasing all political prisoners. They allegedly accomplished this plotting, by the way, while serving time for destroying draft records.

First of all, if there was a plot, Hoover disrupted any intelligence operations by blabbing in public. Secondly, if the Berrigans are ever hauled into court, the defense could move for a mistrial on the grounds of adverse publicity.

Hoover cites as overt acts of conspiracy alleged messages passed from Father Phillip Berrigan to a nun outside the prison, and a visit she supposedly made to the heating tunnels. Of course anyone who's ever watched Perry Mason can see there's conspiracy afoot there.

Rep. William Anderson, D-Tenn., a conservative who said he has been a "lifelong admirer of Mr. Hoover and the FBI," pegged the senile paranoid and his charge on the floor of Congress:

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.  
STAR

E - 280,895

FEB 10 1971

“WHAT A LONG NOSE YOU HAVE, UNCLE!”



## NEW YORK'S RED SQUAD

## BOSS IS WATCHING

## CLAUDIA DREIFUS

*Miss Dreifus is a free-lance writer working in New York, whose articles on political and social questions have appeared in The Realist, New York Scenes, the East Village Other, and elsewhere. Her book on feminism and women's rights, The Feminine Experience, will be published by Lancer in July.*

The New York left-wing political scene is as tense these days as a camp under siege. People will not talk freely on private telephones. If a call must be put through, the parties arrange in advance to talk from phone booths. The lawyer William Kunstler dares not interview his clients in his own office. For important client-lawyer meetings, he sends a secretary out to rent a hotel room under a pseudonym. A friend was found recently shoveling fine Afghanistan hashish into the toilet bowl. "Gotta dump the stuff," he said. "I'm being watched. They're after me on political stuff, so I'm not going to give them a chance to get me on a dope rap." And no political meeting is complete unless there is a guessing game, in which all participate, as to which of those present is the actual representative of the police, or other law-enforcement organization.

Not just in New York but all around the country people, particularly radical Left political people, feel someone breathing down their necks. In addition to surveillance by the FBI, CIA, Army Intelligence, Navy Intelligence and Air Force Intelligence, there exists in almost every major city a supersecret department of the police, a "Red Squad," dedicated to keeping an eye on the political activities of the citizenry. San Francisco, Chicago, Buffalo, Los Angeles and New Orleans have their police snappers. New York's Red Squad is called the Bureau of Special Services.

This secret branch of the police will not be found in published official New York City records. Since the fiscal year 1966-67, the Bureau of Special Services (BOSS) has followed the practice of its big brother, the CIA, of hiding budget information in appropriations for other agencies. In 1967, a payroll for seventy-five civil service employees was reported at \$781,758. However, that figure did not take into account moneys expended on untold numbers of police informers. David Burnham, *The New York Times's* veteran police reporter, estimated that BOSS expended more than \$1 million that year. Since then, radical political activity has increased in New York City, and it is quite likely that BOSS's budget is now several millions.

The location of BOSS is as well hidden as its finances. Ray Shultz, a reporter for the underground *East Village Other*, once tried to serve a subpoena on a Red Squad detective. His search for the man disclosed that BOSS's headquarters are dispersed in four separate places, including an office in the Police Department's Community Relations Department on East 22nd Street and another office in the Police Athletic League Building on East 12th Street.

But while little is known about BOSS's money and geography, some important information is available as to its activities. According to the Police Department Book of Rules and Procedures, Section 1/34.O, BOSS, a subsection of the Bureau of Detectives, has several functions: to investigate labor disputes, to guard visiting dignitaries, to cooperate with the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service in deportation investigations, to maintain files on persons arrested or seizures made in connection with anarchistic or other unlawful literature [sic], and to conduct other investigations as directed by the Chief of Detectives or other competent authorities. It is this power to "conduct other investigations" which makes BOSS a dangerous secret organization. For this clause permits Red Squaders to tap telephones, infiltrate political organizations, collect files, bug apartments and offices, visit people at their place of business to ask embarrassing questions, and in general to visit upon ordinary citizens a host of other plagues on their civil liberties.

Even the International Association of Chiefs of Police admits that BOSS does a lot more than the official mandate specifies. A 1967 IACP report said: "Actually these [mandated] functions have been greatly expanded and presently involve surveillance over a wide range of public activities. Surveillances are maintained and investigations conducted in matters involving illicit and unlawful conduct on the part of many groups." The police chiefs do not note the criteria BOSS uses to determine "illicit and unlawful conduct." BOSS apparently feels responsibility for keeping an eye on groups—the NAACP, for example—that most other citizens would consider utterly respectable. Last year, a BOSS detective visited various political and religious organizations, including the Ethical Culture Society of New York, a humanist sect esteemed in this city. The officer demanded that the Society file a list of its officials, members and activities with the Bureau. When Algernon Black, one of the organization's leaders, protested to then Police Commissioner Howard Leary, he was told that the police were just conducting a "routine investigation."

The International Association of Chiefs of Police report on BOSS lets other cats out of the bag. In a matter-of-fact, cost-efficiency-minded way, it notes some of BOSS's most glaring bureaucratic deficiencies—and its insidious character. "It has already been established that there is an enormous amount of routine clerical work involved in the operation of the Bureau of Special Services. During 1965 there were approximately 180,000 name

Continued



WASHINGTON POST

9 JAN 1971

## Minutemen Hit Role of U.S. Agents

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Jan. 8 (UPI)—A spokesman for the right-wing Minutemen today said that recent acts of violence charged to the radical left were the work of government undercover agents designed to build public support for restrictive legislation.

The organization was founded by Robert Boliver Depugh, since convicted of violating federal firearms laws. Robert Taylor, 25, who identified himself as "official spokesman" while Depugh is in the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kan., said, "We have good reason to believe much (violence) is being perpetrated by the government through their undercover agents within radical organizations."

The purpose of such activity, he said, "is to cause the average citizen to give the government a blank check as to putting through restrictive laws like the recently enacted anti-crime package."

Taylor said the Minutemen

believe the missing H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael "actually were working for the Central Intelligence Agency."

The Minutemen "have checked into the backgrounds of many other people prominent in the radical movement such as Abbie Hoffman and others of the Chicago Seven," he said. "Many of those individuals have parents or other relatives who have State Department connections or a CIA background."

STATINTL  
JANUARY 1971

# [GUERRILLA RADIO SILENCE]

It is not unusual for a government to deny any success, much less any reality, to a guerrilla movement opposing it. Batista, for instance, let out continual rumors that Castro was smashed to smithereens when he wasn't, and the reports of Che Guevara's death in Bolivia were greatly exaggerated at least a dozen times before the CIA could deliver a corpse to match the story.

The pattern of obfuscation in the United States is different. It allows for screaming and hollering about the terrible violence that is coming down on this country, and then degenerates into a blubbery debate about whether violence, in general, is cherry, lemon or lime or even American at all. Since the Administration raising the issue of violence is itself the largest practitioner of that trade both at home and abroad, that would seem to give the boot to the question. But there is a talented vice president on the prowl whose opprobrious rhetoric keeps the confusion alive by speeches to Rotarians and other Bedouins and know-nothings across the Gaza strips of the midwest and southwest.

Despite all the official and unofficial outrage at H. Rap Brown's assertion that violence was as American as cherry pie, the National Commission on The Causes and Prevention of Violence took some 350,000 words last year to say that, in fact, was the case, and that nonviolence was not exactly in the mainstream of how Americans got things done. The only thing new is guerrilla violence, which has never occurred in the United States before, but that revelation is apparently being saved for another commission.

Thus the central reality of violence in society has become the new American cliché. But most people don't bother to differentiate among the kinds of violence—right wing, left wing, government, criminal, and just plain deimented—instead they lump all violence into one burdensome rock for this age where Armageddon takes place on prime time.

This tendency, promoted by the government, has delayed any declamatory awareness of the massive development in the United States of the specifically calculated violence of modern guerrilla warfare. But if the bombings continue this fall at the current hurricane pace, it is only going to take someone to say it is so and guerrilla warfare will become a catchword of the 1970's along with women's liberation and the mini skirt. Whether it will be as easily popularized and assimilated is entirely another question.

While the government's semantic holding action against guerrilla war is already slipping, it does remain true that certain realities, especially unpleasant ones, take a long time to penetrate the American consciousness—a phenomenon social critic John Jay Chapman referred to as the "habitual mental distraction" of Americans. It is now getting to the point, however, where it won't require the services of a computer to project a war out of the rapidly multiplying attacks of guerrilla terrorism and sabotage. March of 1970, for example, was a typical month

without any major civil unrest or campus or ghetto riots. During March there were 62 left wing guerrilla actions against targets in 17 states, among them:

Selective Service Headquarters in Urbana, Illinois, Colorado Springs and Boulder, Colorado were firebombed. The Minnesota Selective Service Headquarters in St. Paul was heavily damaged when sprayed with black paint in a freak sneak attack.

Time bombs were discovered at Army installations in Oakland, Brooklyn, and Portland.

A Post Office was dynamited in Seattle, the Federal Building was firebombed in Champaign, Illinois, and a courthouse blown up in Cambridge, Maryland.

Firebombings and arson attacks caused light-to-extensive damage at eight colleges, and physical attacks on buildings and security guards took place at the University of Puerto Rico and Loop City College in Chicago. During the same period, six high schools were bombed and two damaged by arson.

Guerrilla attacks against police took place in Richmond, Calif., Chicago, Billings, Mont., Detroit, Boulder, Colo., and Cleveland. Dynamite, firebombs and sniper fire were employed in the actions.

In Manhattan, the IBM, General Telephone and Mobil Oil buildings were bombed, and incendiary devices were set off in Bloomingdale's and Alexander's department stores. During the month there were 17 bombing attacks against corporations and banks in eight states.

The geometric progression of such actions tells the story: the 62 guerrilla actions in March, 1970 were roughly double those of March of the previous year when 39 attacks took place against schools, federal installations, police and corporations. In March of 1968 there were only 14 attacks; in 1967 there were four; and two such instances occurred in March of 1966 and 1965.

It is surmisable that the administration does not require this magazine to tell it that guerrilla warfare is going on in the country. It should not strain even the competency of the FBI to uncover such shocking statistics. But just who is going to tell the people is something else. The government doubtless has its own reasons for maintaining radio silence about the guerrilla war, but its semantics at times become strained. President Nixon, deploring violence in September in a major address at landlocked, conservative Kansas State University, went to awkward extremes to avoid the use of even the adjective "guerrilla" (except to refer to the "Palestinian guerrillas," which was all right, apparently, because that was out of town.) In describing American bombers and snipers, the President instead variously employed the descriptive labels "disrupters," "a small minority," "destructive activists," "small bands of destructionists," "acts of viciousness," "blackmail and terror," and "assaults which terrorize."

One reason for the Administration's compulsive evasion of the term is that it just sounds so bad. Guerrilla war psychologically is in the "It-can't-happen-here" category for America. And the admission of the existence of guerrilla warfare would prompt a

host of embarrassing questions, not the least of which is why can't the government stop it?

The fact is that every branch of the federal government with as much as a pinky in law enforcement is actively but furtively attempting to catch itself some guerrillas. The FBI, the Secret Service, the Treasury Department, the Pentagon, the CIA and even the Bureau of Mines are all in on the chase. With all the resources at their disposal to monitor and supervise reputed revolutionaries, it must be a matter of considerable professional and political embarrassment that the combined law enforcement, military, security and spy establishment of the United States has been unable to catch even a literal handful of the thousands of underground revolutionaries who, now as a matter of daily benediction, harass the government with sniper fire or bombs.

Guerrillas interviewed in the course of preparing this issue found it a matter of exultant amusement that the government's intelligence system has turned out to be such a basket case. The Pentagon Counter Intelligence Analysis Division has a subversive data bank with 1.5 million names and even circulates a little red book entitled "Organizations and Cities of Interest and Individuals of Interest." The Secret Service has indices of 100,000 radical names and extensive dossiers on 50,000 revolutionaries presumed to be dangerous. If those figures have any rational or scientific base, that is quite some draft pool for guerrilla soldiers. The FBI has 194 million fingerprints in its files and quick access to 264 million police records, 323 million medical histories, and 279 million psychiatric dossiers. It also claims to have an infiltrator in a top position in every revolutionary group in America. Yet the nearest the FBI has gotten to the Weatherman is to hang their pictures in post-office galleries.

To be fair to the FBI, authorities in other countries faced with indigenous guerrilla war of the type we are experiencing in the United States have fared little better in capturing insurgents. In Brazil, even the extensive repression of a relatively up front police state has failed to derail measurably the half dozen guerrilla groups following the teachings of Brazilian guerrilla theorist Carlos Marighella. (Marighella's *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla*, from which selections are reprinted on Pg. 67 is prized as a crime-doer's textbook by American guerrillas.) Uruguay's military is also at a loss to stop the operations of the notorious Tupamaros, whose bank robbing and kidnapping tactics may represent the next stage of emulation by American guerrillas.

ST. JOSEPH, MICH.  
HERALD-PRESS

E - 6,865

DEC 26 1970

# Armed Forces Not To Play I Spy Anymore

Jolted by the politics in the reaction to discovering that the Army and Air Force have been running tab sheets on many public characters, Melvin Laird, the Defense Secretary, has told the military to knock off its "Big Brother" activity.

He has ordered the Defense Intelligence Agency to report directly to him, starting February 1st, rather than to the Joint Chiefs of Staffs as it has been doing.

Additionally, Laird laid on some soothing syrup to the effect that all investigating must be done within the framework of a citizen's constitutional rights.

We doubt if the Secretary's order will stop the snooping, but considering the bruha which the right of privacy argument raises today, Laird had to say something. From the beginning of the first organized society, all governments have spied on their peoples as well as upon one another and this proclivity will end only if society itself blows apart.

The fuss and feathers blew up not quite two weeks ago when Sen. Sam Ervin, a North Carolina Democrat, disclosed a revelation to him from a former Army sergeant that he had gathered information on several politicians and other civilians in the public limelight under orders from his military superiors.

Among those mentioned by the sergeant were Adlai Stevenson III, the Rev. Lawlor of Chicago, Otto Kerner, the former governor of Illinois and now a U.S. Court of Appeals judge, W. Clement Stone, the very wealthy Chicago insurance executive, and Mayor Daley.

Some other former military man later disclosed he had filed reports on Sherman Skolnick, a Chicago legal researcher who specializes in

misapplications of the law which seem to bother no one but himself.

Skolnick has filed a \$2 million personal injury suit against the Army saying he fears the Army would automatically pack him off to jail in case a civil commotion erupted in the Windy City.

The army says a file on public figures is necessary if the military is to know how to proceed effectively should an emergency arise. It would be helpful to have an idea how Daley would react, for example. The justification is a half and half mixture.

Having some approximation of where public figures stand on certain issues would be useful knowledge in handling an emergency. Forewarned is forearmed.

The military is also interested in its critics or potential critics. This information is also a handy tool when it comes to making up a budget or obtaining other favors from Capitol Hill.

Daley apparently had the latter in mind the other day when being interviewed on his feeling about having his name in the file. "My life is an open book," was the substance of His Honor's opinion.

In playing the cat and mouse game of intelligence and counter-intelligence it is impossible to avoid seeing things under the bed.

Harry Truman thought he had reduced this over reacting back in 1946 when as President he obtained Congressional authority to corral this security function in the Central Intelligence Agency.

The CIA became the statutory successor to the OSS (Office of Strategic Services) which FDR established by executive order during World War II.

Theoretically, the Army, Navy and Air Force were to confine their intelligence activity

to cover the waterfront in strategic affairs, including non-military aspects of national security.

The sergeant's disclosures to Sen. Ervin are simply another demonstration that all segments of the Washington apparatus are determined to do their own thing, regardless of what directives may come from the White House or Congress. It wouldn't surprise us in the least if the Bureau of Fisheries might not have its G-2 on the prowl. The existence of CIA on top of the G-2 functions in the three Armed Forces is further evidence of this Washington proliferation.

The best that can be said for it is that it helps to hold down the unemployment rate.

The common reaction with most people when discovering somebody is asking questions about them is one of irritation.

Some, such as Adlai and Ervin, develop an instant rath.

We're with Daley.

If there's nothing to hide, why worry?

24 DEC 1970

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# Army 'Radical Desk': Domestic Spying

By Karl E. Meyer  
and Carl Bernstein

Washington Post Staff Writers

NEW YORK, Dec. 23—For just over a year, Sgt. Ralph Stein had an assignment that he looks back on as strange, seriocomic, scary and perhaps unique in the annals of the United States Army.

Stein was head of the "radical desk" in the Army's counterintelligence analysis branch, and was greeted with a wink as "Mr. New Left" when he came to his office in Alexandria, Va.

The office itself was unusual. It was set up like a newsroom, equipped with wire service tickers and teleprinter that fed data not only to the "radical desk" but to a "right wing desk" and a "racial desk," all of them concerned with purely domestic politics.

Stein says his task was to keep an eye on thousands of Americans, ranging from retired rear admirals and pop singers to college clergymen, former Washington school board member Julius Hobson and others who were deemed "radicals."

Such Washington personalities and organizations as Pride, Inc., Rufus (Catfish) Mayfield, New Mobilization coordinator, Sam Brown and the local Southern Christian Leadership Conference "were kept under constant surveillance by the Army," according to Stein.

Stein said that members of the 116th Army Intelligence group, stationed in Southwest Washington near Ft. McNair, infiltrated the SCLC's Poor People's Campaign, regularly attended meetings of such supposedly "radical" organizations as the New Mobe and the NAACP and made photographs and video tape recordings of participants in Washington demonstrations.

The information, he said, eventually reached his desk in the office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, where Stein says it was placed in "personal or organization dossiers," microfilm data banks and "extensive card files."

The latter, according to Stein, detailed "political" activities and affiliations of individuals and their thoughts and travels.

The former sergeant says he was supposed to collect information on suspected radical individuals and organizations before the newspapers did. He recalls being exhorted by superiors, "Beat the AP, the UPI." His regular work, he said, included briefing generals on the activities of those listed on the index cards and dossiers.

On one occasion he was summoned to CIA headquarters to brief the agency on West Coast underground papers such as the Berkeley (Calif.) Barb. "They seemed to have the idea that the papers were getting money from abroad. I tried to tell them otherwise, and some of the officers didn't like that—I wasn't asked back again."

Stein talked about this and other incidents in interviews today that threw fresh light on the growing controversy over alleged meddling in domestic politics by Army undercover agents. Last week another former sergeant, John M. O'Brien, charged that Army snoopers spied on Sen. Adlai Stevenson III and some 800 other civilians in Illinois.

Asked to comment on Stein's assertions, a Department of the Army spokesman referred to a statement made on Dec. 16 by Army general counsel Robert E. Jordan and said, "It still stands." That statement said:

"I have seen a number of allegations that Army intelligence personnel have in the past gathered information about political figures. The Department of Defense and the Department of the Army are, of course, gravely concerned about these reports and we are checking into them at this time."

Now 27, Stein joined the Army in October, 1965, at-

tended Army Intelligence School and served in South Korea for 13 months before being assigned—with a "top secret" clearance—to the "radical desk" in July, 1967. He was discharged with the rank of sergeant in October, 1968, and now lives in Flushing, N.Y. He is now a student in the new school for social research.

He says that the Detroit riots of 1967 provided the impetus for setting up the three desks, and that he was told the venture was "a pilot program" to help the Army fulfill its civil disturbance role. His office was originally located in downtown Alexandria, but was later moved to a campus building at the Northern Virginia Community College. The move was prompted, he says, by security fears after an antiwar march on the Pentagon in October, 1967.

At the "radical desk," he asserts, his job was to sift through detailed FBI and Army intelligence reports that piled up daily on his desk, and to be ready to brief superiors on the political activities of thousands of Americans.

Those under surveillance, he says, ranged from known Communists like Gus Hall to antiwar liberals Dr. Benjamin Spock and Yale Chaplain William Sloane Coffin and to entertainers Jane Fonda, Joan Baez and Arlo Guthrie. Also on his lists were Army Brig. Gen. Hugh Hester (ret.), a critic of militarism, and Rear Adm. Arnold E. True (ret.), now a professor of meteorology at San Jose State College, an opponent of the Vietnam war.

Stein asserts that the "racial desk" kept track of everyone from moderates such as Roy Wilkins, director of the NAACP, to black nationalist militants, among them members of the Black United Front of Washington.

The "rightwing desk" was chiefly concerned with activities of the Virginia-

based National Socialist White Peoples Party, according to Stein.

Stein says the only elected official he recalls on his lists was Julian Bond, a black member of the Georgia Legislature, but other public officials, he said, would figure in the files if they spoke at meetings organized by radicals or antiwar liberals.

The three desk officers pooled information in a spirit of competitive camaraderie. But Stein also remembers worried debates about the implications of the operation. He says:

"Several of us were increasingly alarmed, because what we were doing was entirely unconstitutional. We tried to put pressure through channels to close the office, but we couldn't refuse to do the work, because we had no support outside."

"At the time I had no idea what could be done with computers—I now know, and it frightens me to death. There is no computer that cannot be broken into by electronic means. People can tap computerized data banks, you won't even be aware of it."

"And here we were putting into data banks unverified reports on the political and sexual lives of thousands of Americans. I hate to use the term 1984, which sounds hackneyed, but the potential of computers makes 1984 read like a fairy tale."

According to Stein, "practically none of the information" collected by the 116th Military Intelligence Group in Washington dealt with civil disturbances — "although that was its ostensible purpose."

Information on Hobson, Mayfield (then active in Pride, Inc., the black private, economic opportunity program), members of BUF and other organizations, he said, dealt primarily with their personal lives and public statements.

"One of my stocks in trade

STATINTL

# Ervin Crusades on Army Spies in

## Our Midst

By TED LEWIS

Washington, Dec. 16 — In the course of a Senate inquiry sponsored by Sen. Sam J. Ervin (D-N.C.) the domestic spying operations of Army intelligence agents have been revealed sufficiently to raise the question of whether we are living in a police state and don't know it.

Today in the Senate Ervin produced the latest evidence of the fantastic exploits of Army intelligence on the home front. This concerned the surveillance in one state, Illinois, of 800 individuals, including now Sen. Adlai Stevenson 3d and former Gov. Otto Kerner, ostensibly to determine where they stood on the government's Vietnam and domestic policies.

Previously, Ervin has come up with so far unchallenged information showing that the Pentagon's own sleuth battalions were ferreting out data of a similar kind two years before the Nixon administration took over when Clark Clifford was LBJ's secretary of defense.

### They Attended the King Funeral

There apparently were Pentagon spies pushing pencils at the funeral of Martin Luther King Jr., taking down the names of all who were present, including Hubert Humphrey. And apparently at the 1968 Democratic national convention, electronic gear was used by the same spyboy types to find out what was going on in the headquarters of Sen. Eugene McCarthy, the bitter critic of LBJ's war policies.

For those who find such Gestapo-type activities abhorrent in a free country, it may be a relief to know that Ervin is going to hold hearings on his discoveries in February. At that time, Pentagon brass, uniformed and civilian,

will be summoned to explain why in hell the Army thinks it has the right to use taxpayer millions to meddle in civilian politics, spy on law-abiding private citizens, and build up a secret file of nonconformists.

In this enterprise, designed to restore



individual liberty and freedom of expression as provided in the Constitution, Ervin so far has been an unsung hero.

Some bleeding hearts are very upset about the way Ervin's crusade hasn't aroused people, especially as he wants to turn the clock back to the days when the nation was young, if not gay.

### Trying to Preserve Individuality

There is no question that Ervin's heart is in his effort to keep the individual citizen from being simply a number or a hole in a government computer card. He deserves credit also for working to delay, if not prevent, the bureaucracy's determined effort to establish a data bank, containing under one roof all the dirt available on the individual American's private life.

And in addition it must be admitted there is a sound case against Army intelligence for trying to find out what home folk are up to, instead of using all its talent to find out what the Russian and Asian Communists are up to.

But the average citizen should never lie awake nights worrying about what the Pentagon espionage agents have learned about him. His life is already an open book to those who run the federal bureaucracy. The Federal Bureau of Investigation either has his fingerprints or, in its raw files, letters from a nasty-mean neighbor or disgruntled associate.

And what the FBI doesn't know, the Central Intelligence Agency is likely to, for the idea the CIA operates only offshore has no more foundation than the idea that the FBI only functions within the 12 mile limit.

For that matter, the Secret Service is invariably there to garner information on people that other agencies missed. And of course while the tax records of the Internal Revenue Service are supposed to be confidential, they have a tendency to turn up in unusual places, for the governor of every state can take a looksee at them to check on political foes.

### 'Awesome and Threatening'

This is not to say that Ervin's point is not well taken about the "awesome and threatening picture of increased government data on thousands of American citizens."

He is alarmed, as he told the Senate today, about this country, founded on the "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" motif of individual freedom, becoming some day soon a "dossier society."

"In this 'dossier society,'" said Ervin, "government would know all about the individual citizen, his habits, his livelihood, his thoughts, his aspirations, his... not be free."

Isn't it a little on the late side for Ervin, or anyone else, to be worrying about this dossier business? The average intelligent citizen long ago decided his life was an open book to federal operatives. He didn't like it, but he felt he couldn't escape it.

### Even the Couch Has Ears

He knew damn well that his credit rating was obtainable by government spies, and that IRS tax agents had ways of checking his bank deposits. He knew also that when he opened his big mouth at any bar about his political likes and hates, "big brother" was probably listen-



Sen. Sam Ervin  
Sees an "awesome picture"

ing. And if he went to a psychiatrist, the chances were that his private hopes, fears and love life could end up as part of a federal agent's confidential report on his qualifications for public office in a "free society."

That's the way it is and we all know it. What is really disturbing about the Army getting into the spying act among home folk is the waste of taxpayer money involved, for the Pentagon snoopers can only find out what others in the federal network already had found out about how we behave individually.



## THE FBI'S TOUGHEST FOE: 'THE KIDS'

*Face it, we're in what amounts to a guerrilla war with the kids. And so far, the kids are winning.*

It was hardly the Administration's official line. Nevertheless, that stark admission from a veteran Justice Department staffer last week dramatically underscored the increasing problems faced by the government—and especially the Federal Bureau of Investigation—in the escalating war with violent revolutionaries.

The successful manhunt that led to Angela Davis's arrest last week was a rare coup nowadays—and even if she should prove guilty as charged, she is evidently not the kind of extremist whose tactics and life-style now confront the FBI with its toughest challenge. The bureau's responsibility is, of course, lim-

mailed to news media around the nation.

At the weekend, the Ten Most Wanted list had expanded to carry the names of a record 16 fugitives, nine of them considered radicals. Included were Katherine Power and Susan Saxe, 21-year-old former Brandeis University coeds who are charged with a bank robbery in Philadelphia and another in Boston during which a policeman was murdered. Also listed: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee leader H. Rap Brown, who dropped from sight last March; Cameron David Bishop, charged with sabotaging power lines to a defense plant in Colorado last year and four young men indicted after a bomb blast in Madison at the University of Wisconsin in August.

More than a dozen other radicals, also under Federal indictment, are being



Nixon, Mitchell, Hoover (left) at Justice: A new crime bill...

ited. The FBI is an investigative agency, not a national police force. The basic job of protecting individuals and institutions rightfully belongs to local and state police. But the FBI earned its proud reputation by stalking and capturing a seemingly endless procession of kidnapers, bank robbers and cold-war spies, and director J. Edgar Hoover's men have nowhere as good a record when it comes to bringing today's new-breed revolutionaries to justice once the smoke of their dynamite bombs has cleared.

Right now the bureau is hunting an impressive array of leftist celebrities. Indeed, within hours of Miss Davis's capture, her spot on the FBI's renowned "Ten Most Wanted" list was assigned to another female fugitive—Weatherman Bernardine Dohrn, 28, who has been sought for ten months. The nationwide search hasn't kept Miss Dohrn from making bomb threats and other pronouncements

sought on charges stemming from Weatherman's "Days of Rage" in Chicago last October and various bomb plots. Among them are Mark Rudd, a leader of the rebellion at Columbia University in 1968, and Cathlyn Wilkerson and Kathy Boudin, the two young women who disappeared after a bomb factory exploded, destroying a town house in New York's Greenwich Village in March. Another celebrity from the subculture, LSD guru Timothy Leary, recently went over the fence at a state prison colony in California and vanished, apparently with the help of Weatherman radicals. And even Father Daniel Berrigan, the antiwar priest, led FBI agents a merry chase for four months, popping up here and there for sermons and seminars before finally being captured on Block Island (NEWSWEEK, Aug. 24).  
Several anarchy-



JACKSON, MISS.  
NEWS

E - 46,751

OCT 5 1970

## JDN Gets More And More Siding From Liberalists

In recent months the Jackson Daily News has carried special articles on the Black Panther movement and its attempts to carve out a beachhead to spread its vile and violence in Mississippi. For our efforts, some well-meaning but highly uninformed member of the so-called liberal sect around Jackson branded us as stirring up racism and all that bad-mouthing jazz.

Sakes alive! But this is all in a day's work and we take the barbs in stride trying our best to use good grammar but not bad taste.

Anyway, nobody out there in the big audience has ever had the temerity to call the syndicated calling Jack Anderson a racist, bigot and ugly little digs like that. Jack Anderson and his former associated, the late Drew Pearson, were always totin' the flag of super-sensitivity in behalf of the swell-headed and loud-mouthed radical minority agitators.

In a recent article, Mr. Anderson wrote in part:

Those revolutionary rogues, the Black Panthers, have magnificently finessed some of the nation's most high-browed intellectuals.

The big thinkers—anguished liberals with a sense of guilt over ghetto conditions—have raised their voices and opened their purses to the Panthers. The money has gone to undermine the judicial processes to promote racism, to spread sedition and to purchase weap-

ons—hardly causes that good liberals espouse.

All the while the Panthers have accepted this liberal largesse they have shown a grand contempt for their benefactors. In the privacy of their hangouts, according to the confidential report of government informers, the Panthers use scornful obscenities to describe the white liberals who raise money for them.

They have joked roguishly, for example, that they will use the contributions of such eminent Jews as Leonard Bernstein to do the work of Al Fatah in this country.

And when Arthur Goldberg put his enormous prestige behind an investigation into alleged police persecution of the Panthers, they ungratefully called him every kind of a Jewish fascist pig.

CIA reports, meanwhile, claim that Panther leaders not only have met with Arab guerrilla commanders but have made common cause with them. Coincidentally, Panther rhetoric has become increasingly anti-Semitic. A favorite Panther slogan: "Off (meaning kill) the Zionist Imperialists."

That's what Mr. Anderson had to say. If such liberal voices as Mr. Anderson is getting the picture on such radicals as the Black Panthers, then the mean ol' Jackson Daily News must have been barking up the right tree.

Selah.

September 8, 1970

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STATINTL

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

01-714925

in full. This includes physician services, psychiatric services, hospital and other institutional care, dental services, medicines, therapeutic devices, appliances, and equipment, as well as needed supporting services.

Furthermore, money will be provided to develop a more adequate supply and appropriate distribution of health professionals and supporting personnel. The program will actively encourage more efficient organization of existing health manpower, provide funds for special training of physicians, dentists, and other health workers needed for this program, and apply financial incentives to stimulate the movement of health manpower to medically deprived areas.

We have heard talk all during this Congress that there were "new" proposals forthcoming from the administration, that we should wait and see.

Mr. President, I have been urged for months to wait and see, that the administration will have a bill. And I have been waiting. But it is late in the session. The time for waiting is now past. We can no longer wait for a band-aid approach for our disintegrating health system that needs major surgery. While the bill I introduce today is not the complete answer, it is the best answer we have yet come up with.

Mr. President, I have been on the Health Subcommittee of the Senate for nearly 13 years, up until last year under the great Lister Hill as chairman. I have listened to the evidence for 13 years. We have talked to the experts, and we have studied this question for years. Last January, when I became chairman of the subcommittee, I expressed a desire to introduce such a comprehensive health care bill. This, I repeat, is the best we have been able to come up with after hearing testimony from the people who have worked in this field over in the private structure of the economy, made a study of the problem, and come in with their recommendations.

I ask unanimous consent that the bill be printed in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BELLMON). The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record in accordance with the Senator's request.

The bill (S. 4323) to create a health security program, introduced by Mr. YARBOROUGH (for himself, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. COOPER, and Mr. SAXBE), was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[The bill will be printed in a subsequent edition of the Record.]

#### ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF A BILL

S. 3220

At the request of the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. BYRD) the Senator from Nevada (Mr. CANNON) was added as a cosponsor of S. 3220, to protect a person's right of privacy by providing for the designation of obscene or offensive mail matter by the sender and for

the return of such matter at the expense of the sender.

#### CORRECTION OF ANNOUNCEMENT ON VOTE

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Colorado (Mr. ALLOTT), I ask that the permanent Record be corrected to show that on vote No. 283, the passage of the Treasury-Post Office appropriation bill for 1971, the Senator from Colorado, if present and voting, would have voted "yea."

#### PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION RELATING TO DIRECT POPULAR ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT—AMENDMENTS

AMENDMENT NO. 878

Mr. GRIFFIN submitted amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution to provide for the direct popular election of the President and Vice President of the United States, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT OF HEARINGS: FEDERAL DATA BANKS AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, in recent months, with the discovery of each new Federal data bank and data system, public concern has increased that some of the Federal Government's collection, storage, and use of information about citizens may raise serious questions of individual privacy and constitutional rights.

The Constitutional Rights Subcommittee has received countless letters and telegrams from Members of Congress and from interested persons all over the United States, urging that hearings be scheduled to consider the total impact of some of these data programs on preservation of individual rights.

I wish to announce that, in response to these demands, the subcommittee has scheduled a new series of hearings on "Federal data banks and systems and the bill of rights." The first stage of the hearings will be held October 6, 7, and 8.

The subcommittee has already undertaken a survey of Federal data banks and automated data systems to determine what statutory and administrative controls are governing their growth and what rights and remedies are provided for the citizen. The analysis of the executive branch replies to that subcommittee questionnaire, together with the hearings held in the last session on "privacy and Federal questionnaires," and the hearings which begin in October, will assist Congress in determining the need for a new independent agency to control Federal data banks on behalf of the privacy and due process rights of citizens. It has been my conviction that such an agency is needed, along with new remedies in the courts and other corrective actions. I detailed the reasons for my

belief in a Senate speech in November 1969.

The purpose of the hearings is: First, to learn what Government data banks have been developed; second, how far they are already computerized or automated; third, what constitutional rights, if any, are affected by them; and, fourth, what overall legislative controls, if any, are required.

Witnesses familiar with the constitutional and legal issues, as well as the practical problems raised by some current and proposed data programs will document these for the record. The Secretary of the Army and other representatives of the Defense Department have already been invited to attend the October hearings to describe how and why the Army and other armed services have collected and stored information on civilians, and to what extent the records have been automated for easy access and retrieval.

Prof. Arthur R. Miller of the University of Michigan Law School, author of a forthcoming book, "The Dossier Society: Personal Privacy in the Computer Age," has been invited to describe the state of the law governing information flow in our society and its relationship to legal rights. Another witness will be Christopher Pyle, an attorney and former Army intelligence officer, who has investigated the Army's civil disturbance data programs, and has written widely on the subject.

In later hearings, other representatives of the executive departments and agencies will be invited to respond to the complaints and fears which have been expressed by the public. They will be afforded the opportunity to explain exactly what their data programs on people involve, and how, if at all, the privacy, confidentiality and due process rights of the individual are respected.

The subcommittee has received enthusiastic support from specialists in the computer sciences, in both the computer industry and in the academic community. We hope to receive the benefit of their expertise for our hearing record.

Mr. President, our Nation is predicated on the fundamental proposition that citizens have a right to express their views on the wisdom and course of governmental policies. This involves more than the currently popular notion of a so-called right to dissent. Our system cannot survive if citizen participation is limited merely to registering disagreement with official policy; the policies themselves must be the product of the people's views. The protection and encouragement of such participation is a principal purpose of the first amendment.

More than at any other time in our history, people are actively expressing themselves on public questions and seeking to participate more directly in the formulation of policy. Mass media have made it easy for large numbers of people to organize and express their views in written and oral fashion. Rapid means of transportation have aided our mobile population to move easily to sites of central and local authority for the purpose

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STATINTL

# GEORGE G. ECKSTEIN

Mr. Eckstein contributes regularly to several German periodicals; his book on the New Left in America is being brought out this month by a German publisher.

Rolf Hochhuth has made his name by stepping on mighty toes. In his historical-political plays he has attacked prominent persons and myths, basing his dialogue on historical documents and frequently using their actual texts. However, he does so not in the manner of the modern "documentary theatre" but remains rather in the tradition of the German historical dramatic theatre, the tradition of Schiller, of Buechner, and—in our time—Carl Zuckmayer. He brings to this tradition an extra sharpness, a pointing up of the issues, rather than of the individuals in whom they have come to be incorporated.

His *Deputy*, written in 1963 and shown on Broadway amidst considerable controversy, attacked Pope Pius XII for not having raised his voice and his influence against Hitler's extermination of the Jews. In *Soldiers* (1967) he poked into another dark episode of World War II—the death of General Sikorski, head of the Polish Government-in-Exile, in an unusual plane accident off Gibraltar. In slightly veiled hints, he laid the responsibility for this "accident" to Winston Churchill, and to his and Stalin's postwar goals, which had no room for a quixotic leader who would not give up the dream of a truly independent Poland.

It is quite understandable that a dramatist should be attracted to the dark side of history—it promises more effective theatre than the drudgery of daily politics or the slow changes in power relations and institutions. But this preoccupation is hazardous when it turns from historical event, however recent, to current politics and speculation about its potentialities. That is what Hochhuth has done in his latest play, *Guerillas*, a "tragedy" set in the United States of about 1968, and dealing with the social and political tendencies of what Hochhuth sees as the American Empire. *Guerillas* has recently been performed in Stuttgart and other German cities, and been published by Rowohlt Verlag, Hamburg.

As a citizen of what he calls an American "satellite state whose industry is bit by bit swallowed up by U.S. corporations," Hochhuth feels entitled to place his urban guerrilla revolution in the epicenter of power, the United States itself. He puts secondary emphasis on Latin America, which he sees as the

Empire's most vulnerable flank, now that the rebellion of the poor masses there is spreading to the church and parts of the upper classes, including the army officers.

Starting from the premise that the military-industrial complex which is ruling the United States and dominates Latin America cannot be destroyed except by a revolution from above, a group of dissenters from the ruling elite have built up a guerrilla network. Their leader is Senator Nicolson, son of a prominent Catholic member of the DAR, head of a shipyard and airplane company working for the military, former Marine officer and pilot, CIA official, key adviser to the President on anti-guerrilla warfare, and member of a prominent New York law firm. The clandestine guerrilla organization, in concert with black workers and engineers, has penetrated the highest power centers of the nation and is preparing a *coup d'état* in which the Administration, under threat of nuclear rockets from a cooperating Polaris submarine commander and a code officer in the Pentagon's computer center, will be forced to institute those changes in the laws and institutions which are necessary to bring about about the long overdue "social revolution every twenty years" which Hochhuth quotes Thomas Jefferson as having advocated.

The peculiar character of the revolutionary program (to be instituted by fiat) is perhaps best expressed in the first and last of its seven points, as proclaimed by one of the conspirators, a TV commentator with some resemblance to Walter Lippmann:

"The founding of an American workers' party.

"The exile of 'the leading man and his eldest son or heir from among the 200 families owning 90 per cent of the land and means of production."

One of the romantic incidents of the plan is a debutante ball in Los Angeles, well patronized by the daughters of the business and political elite (thanks to the unwitting help of the mother DAR), which is to supply the conspirators with valuable hostages. Lovers of revolutionary mayhem are well served by a number of cloak-and-dagger episodes on stage: from the gassing of an unwelcome witness, to electronic eavesdropping and discreet violence in a Guatemalan cathedral, and finally to the killing of the protagonist in the office of his law firm by a CIA official, a friend from Marine Corps days.

More to the point, perhaps, and closer to political reality, is the sense of doom and carelessness which hangs over the affair. It lends an air of absurdity to the meticulous attention to detail, and implies a hidden wish not to succeed that one can detect among the conspirators against Hitler, as well as among the Black Panthers (who call it "revolutionary suicide"). Thus the sideline involvement of Senator Nicolson, and of his beautiful Latin wife, in the Latin American guerrilla network leads to their detection and liquidation. At the play's end the question is left open whether Nicolson's black deputy, whose cover job is to be the Senator's pilot, will be able to take over the command of the as yet undetected domestic operation.

In his preface—like Bernard Shaw's prefaces it is an integral part of the play, as are also the explanatory notes preceding many of the individual scenes—Hochhuth makes some valid remarks on the political theatre. "Political theatre cannot have the task of reproducing reality—which is always political—but of confronting it with the projection of a new reality. . . . Too many plays attempt to copy events; this play tries to prefigure one. . . . This drama uses the current and temporary New York establishment as a building shell—a shell acquired for wrecking—in order to fill it with revolutionary spirit and to make transparent its façades. In this process, reality has been refined to its symbolic values. . . ."

One may concede to Hochhuth the poet's right to "refine" reality; still, if his play is to strike us as more than a thrilling dramatic experience, it must connect with our own experience of that reality. The success and failure of *Guerillas* have their source here. I shall speak first and in more detail of the failure, because its reasons are more important and more profound, and have an applicability well beyond Hochhuth and his play. Some of the failings are obviously connected with simple ignorance of American facts: thus we may be willing to accept a central character who combines the leadership of a secret guerrilla organization with any one of the other roles assigned to Nicolson; but in the United States no one can at the same time be a Senator, a high-ranking CIA official, the head of a policy-making agency and the active head of an enterprise building submarines and war planes. And if Hochhuth wants us to accept Nicolson as the symbol of the interlocking military-industrial-political

Continued

CHICAGO, ILL.  
TRIBUNE

M - 775,416  
S - 1,045,176

AUG 16 1970

# Adam Smith: Watching the Kremlin watch America

Say again, please,  
slowly. The workers  
support the war?  
And the capitalists are  
against the war?  
But that is not logical,  
it is not natural.

By Adam Smith

IT WAS a nice spring day and the construction workers were marching down Broadway, waving to the girls, guzzling beer and chanting "U. S. A., All the Way." Jimmy Breslin's 300-pound friends with the tattoos on the forearms, the beer bellies hanging over their belts, hard hats with flags pasted on them, flags everywhere, and signs. Remember the signs? We Support Nixon and Agnew and Lindsay to Moscow?

The Hard Hats marched, and in the shadow of the Lincoln Center, I say, some America watchers took

notes, but not quite accurate ones. The America watchers in Moscow don't believe it, about the signs, they don't believe Breslin's beer-drinking heavyweights made up their own signs. We are going to have to fly these Hard Hats to Moscow, let them load up with 150-proof stolicinaya and speak for themselves, because right now there is a credibility gap.

I know, because I have just been talking to the America watchers. Very unofficially. There are some new flights that stop in Moscow on the way from Japan to Europe, and since I had to go from Japan to Europe I used the new stopover for a couple of days in Moscow. I have some friends who are correspondents in Moscow, and they thought it would be interesting to set up some meetings with the America watchers. And the Russians were quite interested because they have been watching the United States economy stumble with great interest. The America watchers, in this instance, are both journalists and government officials, some of the people from the papers like Pravda and Izvestia and Red Star and some from various institutes and government agencies. Every once in a while, when the Russians are interested in a particular visitor, they will set up these off-the-record discussions. So I am going to condense several meetings into this one with Boris and Gleb, and even Boris and Gleb need not worry since that is merely like saying "Peter and Paul."

It isn't really relevant to this report to go over the political stuff already covered by the writers who like punditry except to set up a general mood of depression. The Hungarian revolution? That was just a couple of hotheads in Budapest, nobody else supported it, it was a fascist CIA plot. And the Czechs? Well, even a Socialist government can make some mistakes, and the Czech government made some mistakes, and there were some movements there to take the Czechs right out of Socialism, a plot certainly not supported by the Czech people. The Middle East? Israeli aggression against the oppressed Arab peoples must be stopped. [You can, in fact, buy *The Story of Zionist Imperialism* right in the Moscow airport.] The gloom on the Middle East is perhaps an important tone setter. You would think, from the Soviet literature, that the Israeli army was just about five times as big as Hitler's. The Israelis should go back to

observers will watch. But, you say, in

1967 the Egyptians closed the Straits of Tiran, gave the U. N. 24 hours to get out, and they got out. Well, this time we will have technicians work out the appropriate technique. "Listen," said one official at one point, "we cannot permit the Arabs to lose again."

The overall approach of the America watchers is inviting. For about two minutes. Your hawks bring out our hawks. If only you could restrain your hawks a bit, it would make it easier for us, for the Soviets who are truly interested in reducing international tensions. With each administration we get hopeful, but then, well [sigh—they're just like the others].

Before meeting Boris and Gleb, I was leafing thru a translation of a Russian magazine. George Wallace and Curtis LeMay are still favorites. There is a poster of a wounded, weeping Vietnamese child, and under it, as if Gen. LeMay were still flying, is his quote, "North Viet Nam must be bombed back to the Stone Age." Wallace makes it for how you treat dissent, "A little bit of lead in the head." A nice time in the world for running against minorities: Spiro Agnew is running against the kids and the reporters, and the Russians are running against Wallace and LeMay.

Boris is an amiable fellow with a certain amount of charm and he has spent some time in the U. S. He likes to drop these items of intimacy into the conversation, "As Prof. So-and-So told me at the University of Virginia, when I was last in Alabama." Gleb has not been to the U. S. but he seems to know every opinion uttered by every American economist, he has read all the bulletins of every Federal Reserve Bank, he tugs at his knit tie and marshals statistics quite impressively. Gleb has the files before him, all his folders, and Boris is taking notes; I am not taking notes because, after all, this is a one-way quiz. We establish all our credentials by discussing how you measure total output, the gross national product. The Soviet economy is the second largest in the world, perhaps \$300 billion to our \$950 billion; perhaps it is bigger, since they don't weight services as we do; perhaps it is smaller because we can't accept the official exchange rate of the ruble and the dollar. The Soviet economy is advanced in some areas, is in the 1920s as far as trucks are concerned, and has yet to invent the

"Now, about U. S. economy,"

STATINTL

DENVER, COLO.  
ROCKY MT. NEWS  
AUG 5 1970

M - 192,279  
S - 209,887

# Guerrilla war publications owner testifies

By DAN BELL

Rocky Mountain News Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON — A former Green Beret major said Tuesday his Boulder publishing house probably would stop selling books on guerrilla warfare which some claim have been instruction manuals for American radicals.

Robert K. Brown, owner and publisher of Panther Publications, indicated that he might stop selling such books as "150 Questions for Guerrillas" and "Total Resistance" because of the "heat" he has received.

Brown, a wiry graduate of the University of Colorado, bristled when Sen. John L. McClellan, D-Ark., attempted to label him as a knowing supporter of revolutionary causes during the Senate government operations subcommittee hearing.

Brown conceded that some of the books may have been "misused," but heatedly denied that the two-man publication house was set up to supply training material for revolutionaries.

He repeatedly told McClellan that he was supplying books to "guerrilla warfare buffs" similar to Civil War buffs or World War II buffs.

## 'Gleam in Huey Newton's eye'

He said the business was established in 1963, "long before the Black Panther party was a

gleam in Huey Newton's eye," referring to the cofounder of the party.

During Brown's 60 minutes of testimony, which kept the hearing room intrigued, he told of helping to found a pro-Castro "26th of July" group while a student at CU, making three trips to Cuba 1958, 1959 and 1960.

In 1960, he said, he became disenchanted with the Cuban leader, and helped organize anti-revolutionary groups in this country.

In 1963, Brown re-joined the Army and served 16 months in Vietnam, including six months with a Special Forces unit near the Cambodian border.

McClellan, who heard earlier witnesses call Brown's operation a prime source of guerrilla training manuals, read from several radical publications which urged their readers to send away for the 25-cent catalogue of publications available.

Brown replied with a crisp "negative" each time the senator asked if this was done with his knowledge.

He also said he understands "the concern of the committee and population that these books are being used in a way detrimental to society."

## 5,000-name mailing list

Although he said there was no way to control who answered the ads and got on his 5,000-name mailing list, he said that books on explosives were sold only to those whose letterhead identified them as someone with a legitimate use for the explosives.

At one point McClellan asked, "Do you feel that you have contributed to violence in this country and building up of guerrillas in this country?"

Brown replied, "No more than General Motors in that the Black Panthers can drive General Motors cars to do bombing. We do not advocate that our books be used for illegitimate means. If we had no scruples we would have run ads in underground magazines."

Brown said armed forces personnel and libraries have purchased his books and emphasized that those buying them to practice the guerrilla trade were in the minority.

Brown said he was not a member of any radical group "right or left." He said the name Panther Publications was chosen because he needed a name in a hurry and thought of an animal that was "cunning and stealthy."

Brown did not tell the committee what kind of heat was being placed on him, but later said that some magazines refused to accept advertising for his publications.

He also said he had been harassed by the CIA and that he planned to publish "an expose on graft and incapability of the CIA in the Florida area."

MONTGOMERY, ALA.  
ADVERTISER

M - 61,769  
S - 80,831  
JUL 23 1970

## Spiro Cancels The '72 Election

NOT CONTENT with writing Vice President Agnew off as a dirty old curmudgeon who dares to answer criticism with criticism, some of his enemies have now stooped to a new low. Fortunately, it's incredible.

It's described as a "confidential memorandum," presumably written by Agnew or someone in his office, which discusses plans to cancel the 1972 national election, repeal the Bill of Rights and use CIA funds to inspire hardhat demonstrations in support of the President's Southeast Asia policies in New York, Pittsburgh, Chicago, St. Louis and Seattle.

The bogus memorandum, on vice presidential stationery, is to be published next week by "Scanlon's Monthly," of which we had never heard before this. It is said to deal in apocryphal scandals.

According to the memorandum, the Rand Corporation, the California-based research firm, had agreed to a "judicious leak" of a study to cancel the 1972 elections, but was reluctant to release the plan to repeal the Bill of Rights. Rand denies everything, as do Agnew and the White House.

The memorandum is dated March 11. It bears a government watermark, but is headed "The Vice President," a form used by previous administrations. Agnew uses stationery headed "Office Of The Vice President."

Agnew said of the hoax:

"My denial is unequivocal, not only for that (document) but for anything else concerning that subject in writing, in conversation or in thought."

Scanlon's editors defended the document as coming from reliable sources, which they claimed to have checked.

It's crazy of course, but it might put ideas in Agnew's head. If it were possible to cancel the 1972 election, it would certainly save a lot of trouble and expense. Since there is no constitutional authority for this by any administration, we suppose it would have to be done by executive order: "The 1972 election is a waste of time and a bother which threatens domestic peace and tranquility. It is herewith called off."

That would top a suggestion a couple of years ago by the Senator who flip-pantly proposed that the way to get out of Vietnam was to announce that we had won and leave.



## AGNEW ATTACKS MEMO AS FRAUD

He Denies Link to Plans to  
Cancel the 1972 Election

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 21—An alleged "confidential memorandum" linking Vice President Agnew's office with plans to cancel the 1972 national election and repeal the Bill of Rights was denounced today as a fraud by Mr. Agnew.

The Vice President said that it was "ridiculous" for the editors of Scanlan's Monthly to believe that the document was genuine. It is being reproduced in the journal's August edition, to be published next Tuesday.

According to the memorandum, the Rand Corporation, a California research company, agreed to a "judicious leak" of a study on cancellation of the election but did not feel that any information should be made public on a plan for repeal of the Bill of Rights.

The document also contains paragraphs implying that the Nixon Administration, using funds of the Central Intelligence Agency, would inspire demonstrations in support of the President's Indochina policies by construction workers in New York, Pittsburgh, Chicago, St. Louis and Seattle.

Memo Dated March 11

The memorandum, on stationery with the heading "The Vice President," is dated March 11. Rumors were heard in April and spread quickly across the country that the Rand Corporation was preparing a secret study on the implications of cancellation of the 1972 election.

The White House and officials of the California company have repeatedly denied that any such study was ever undertaken or contemplated.

Mr. Agnew said in an interview today, after he had seen a copy of the document that Scanlan's will publish, that it was "completely false." He said that the form of the memorandum, and the heading of the stationery, were different from those used by his office.

"My denial is unequivocal," Mr. Agnew said, "not only for that [document] but for anything else concerning that subject in writing, in conversation or in any other way. It is much more unequivocal than that."

Sidney E. Zion, and Warren Hinckle 3d, editors of Scanlan's, said in a telephone interview that they first suspected that the document was a hoax but became convinced after an investigation that it was genuine. They did not inquire about it at the White House.

Mr. Zion said that he had become convinced after leaders of the construction workers who demonstrated on Wall Street were invited to meet with the President.

Source Viewed as Reliable

He conceded that "some crazy maniac" could have obtained Vice-Presidential stationery and dreamed up the memorandum, but said that it had come to him from a source who had never misled him in the past. He would not disclose the source.

The "memorandum" is labeled as "page 2 of 4 pages." It begins in the middle of a sentence about the alleged Rand study and stops in midsentence about "Rufus Taylor's unaudited 'internal security' fund" being tapped for the demonstrations.

Mr. Zion said that Rufus Taylor was an official of the C.I.A.

Mr. Agnew noted that the heading on the document was "The Vice President." He said that memorandum forms used by the previous Administration contained that heading, but that his own carried the words "Office of the Vice President."

An aide to the Vice President said later that his office did not use stationery bearing the heading on any but the first pages of memorandums. The word "confidential," typed in the top left and bottom right portions of the page, also represented a deviation from the style used in Mr. Agnew's office the aide said.

Mr. Zion contended that it was possible Mr. Agnew's office had used the old stationery in the interest of economy.

The rumor about a Rand study for the Administration on plans to cancel the 1972 election if radicals threatened to disrupt it was first printed in the Newhouse News Service's weekly gossip column. It spread to underground and establishment news media and traveled by word of mouth from campus to campus. Mr. Zion said that the denials by Rand and the White House.



10-16 July 1970

# L.A. COP CIA 'HIT' MAN

SUE MARSHALL

A CIA penetration agent?

This was the description, conjuring up images of poisoned darts and sado-masochistic enzyme cleaners, which playwright Don Freed and attorney Luke McKissack used to describe James Jarrett, late of the LAPD and presently stationed in Israel by the Central Intelligence Agency, ostensibly to act as a saboteur. (Jarrett has worked in this capacity overseas prior to this case.)

If it wasn't for the zealous efforts of ten officers of the Los Angeles Police Department in trying to secure a conviction against Freed and actress Shirley Sutherland, the fact might never have been revealed that Jarrett (and possibly other LAPD cops) could act as a CIA agent while on the city payroll.

The Sutherland-Freed case has proved a great embarrassment to the police department and U.S. attorney's office. From Oct. 2, 1969, when Jarrett tried to entrap Freed and Sutherland by planting on Don Freed hand grenades which he had personally stolen from the San Diego Naval Armory, to December, when ten LAPD willingly complied in breaking into the home of a private investigator for the defense to steal tape recordings and papers, the actions of the police have been concretely illegal.

"I almost could say that the LAPD probably wasn't aware that Jarrett was a CIA man," Freed commented to the Free Press. "Maybe that's being naive. Jarrett has been a 'hit' man—the leader of political assassination teams—in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. He had worked for the CIA in Latin America. He had come to the LA police to help train the Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) squad, which was responsible for the raid on the Black Panther Party headquarters last December."

Even when Jarrett was working within the group called Friends of the Panthers (now known as Liberation Union) as an infiltrator—even before he was proven to be a cop of any kind—he was recognized to be an individual with serious mental problems.

"Jarrett talked freely about atrocities he had committed in Vietnam and his current life as a cat burglar and gun-runner," recalled Don Freed.

"His acting-out personality was plain. To use the psychological vocabulary, he has a allo-plastic personality. Here is a man who was emotionally battle-scarred in Vietnam, and his sickness has been channelled for the use of the CIA.

"Jarrett acts out with his body an inner world of sado-masochistic adventures which fit exactly the patter he has been programmed to follow. This is the logical step beyond drafting and brainwashing someone in the army. Jarrett is a victim, too, and his very existence demands an explanation. There are thousands of men like him returning from the battlefields; beneath their clean-cut blonde exterior they are walking schizophrenics—and monsters.

"When Jarrett was in Friends of the Panthers, I maintained that he was sick and should not be rejected. Jarrett ran tight, effective self-defense and first aid classes. He was skilled and patient and revealed a helpful, friendly side in direct contrast to his usual provocative behavior."

In September, one of the young women belonging to the Friends was raped by reactionary Cubans. Jarrett suggested that mace be obtained for the women to carry for self-defense. Freed agreed.

On Oct. 2, the day before Freed was scheduled to go to New York to supervise the Broadway opening of his play, "Inquest; the United States vs. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg," Jarrett delivered a brown cardboard box which was supposed to contain mace to Freed's home at 4:15 a.m. About 4:30, detectives arrived simultaneously at two homes, to hold guns to the head of Don and Barbara Freed, Shirley Sutherland and her three young children. Don Freed, Shirley Sutherland were arrested for possession of hand grenades,

and held on \$25,000 bond to face a ten-year prison sentence.

When the case came to trial Judge Warren J. Ferguson of the United States Federal Court dropped all charges in view of the obvious entrapment. The U.S. Attorney, however, in an unprecedented move, appealed the judge's decision!

But even more colorful things were to come.

Luke McKissack, chief Southern California counsel for the Black Panther Party, had been retained by Freed and Sutherland for their defense. In many of his celebrated cases, such as the Sirhan Sirhan defense, McKissack has retained the services of private investigator Mike McCowan.

McCowan comes uncomfortably close to the mod-squad stereotype of what a "private dick" should be. He is a licensed private investigator, a lawyer, a ladies' man, and a Gemini. Being a ten-year veteran of the police department himself, McCowan accepted the fact that one of his assistants, Sam Bluth, was a former LAPD officer who had been canned from the force for minor infractions.

Apparently, Sam Bluth dug being a cop to the extent that he would break the law to get back in.

According to a Memorandum of Fact submitted to the court by the U.S. Attorney's office, the following facts came to light while Sutherland and Freed were awaiting trial.

On Dec. 10, 1969, Sam Bluth visited the Venice Police Department and conferred with a Lt. Hegge. The content of their conversation (this is from the U.S. Attorney, remember) was a meeting that Bluth had observed where Don Freed and Shirley Sutherland had discussed James Jarrett.

Lt. Hegge sent Sam Bluth to the glass house downtown where he laid his scene on Inspector McCalley, Lt. Loomis of the Internal Affairs Division and Sgt. Sandlin, and Officer Vincent Kelly of the Intelligence Department. Bluth produced tapes containing recorded conversations between the police and James Jarrett, Mike McCowan. The police made copies of these tapes. Later that day, Sgt.

continued

YORK, PA.  
GAZETTE & DAILY

M - 35,186

JUL 1 1970

#### POLICE ENTRAPMENT

What follows is the disturbing account of the way so-called law enforcement authorities have been known to operate to harass dissenters or simply those they don't care for. It seems that a man and a woman were arrested last October in California on charges of "conspiracy to possess" and "possession of destructive weapons." The man is a member of an anti-war group and a relatively prominent playwright, the woman the wife of a movie actor and the mother of three children, aged two to nine.

Federal agents (refusing to show warrants) arrested the two in early morning raids. In the woman's arrest, agents kicked in the door of her Beverly Hills home at 4:30 a.m. and ransacked the premises with automatic weapons in hand in front of her three frightened youngsters. In retrospect, it seems that the man and woman were subject to official harassment because they had been active participants in Friends of the Black Panther Party — whites who have held fund-raising affairs in aid of the Panther's "Free Breakfasts for Children" program.

The "grounds" for both arrests was the testimony of a self-professed Black Panther, in actuality believed to be a Negro undercover agent for the Los Angeles police force, who had brought a sealed cardboard package to the playwright's residence four hours before the arrests, saying he'd be back for it. In the carton, it was later alleged, were 10 hand grenades, never seen during the course of the pre-trial proceedings, which the agent said he had sold the defendants for transmission to the Panthers.

As reported in a recent issue of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee's bi-monthly publication, the case against the two was dismissed at a pre-trial hearing by Federal District Judge Warren Ferguson, who, highly critical of police entrapment methods, "ruled that the agent had in fact committed the crime for which the two had been jailed. According to his own story, the agent 'somehow' had procured 10 hand grenades from the Naval Ordnance Depot at Long Beach without registering the fact with the Secretary of the Treasury, as required by law . . ."

Adding to this instructive illustration is a point from the Playwright, who writes that "the arresting undercover L.A. policeman has been exposed in the pre-trial hearings as a penetration from the CIA," alleging this "means hard proof of CIA domestic infiltration of local police." Our point is to note that the agent wasn't arrested for breaking the law. Does this mean authorities feel that there are some members of society who are above and beyond the law?

JUN 25 1970  
WEEKLY - 140,292*Herzoff*

## Civics lessons for July 4

As some of you may know, at 4.30 a. m. last October 29, federal agents arrested Donald Freed at his home in West Los Angeles on charges of "conspiracy to possess" and "possession of destructive weapons." Freed, a member of the War Resisters League and author of "Inquest" (the play about the Rosenberg case), has taught anthropology and philosophy at colleges and universities in California and is active in Los Angeles theatre. On the day he was arrested, his play on the life of Gandhi was selected as one of the seven finalists in the world-wide Gandhi Centennial Competition.

That same early morning, another cadre of federal agents kicked in the door of Shirley Sutherland's home in Beverly Hills. With automatic weapons at the ready—presumably in case of resistance by Mrs. Sutherland and her three children (aged two to nine)—they ransacked the house. Mrs. Sutherland, an actress, is the daughter of T. C. Douglas, leader of Canada's New Democratic Party, and the wife of actor Donald Sutherland ("M\*A\*S\*H"). She was taken into custody that morning on "the conspiracy to possess" weapons charge.

Donald Freed and Shirley Sutherland had come to the less-than-benign attention of the authorities because they had been active participants in Friends of the Black Panther Party—white who have held fund-raising affairs, in aid of the Panthers' "Free Breakfasts for Children" program.

The actual "grounds" for both arrests was the testimony of one James Jarrett, a professed Black Panther Party co-worker. A little over four hours before Freed's arrest, Jarrett had brought a sealed cardboard carton into Freed's living room and said he'd be back for it later. In the carton, it was later alleged, were 10 hand grenades. Jarrett claimed, after Freed and Sutherland were arrested, that he had sold the grenades to them for transmission to the Black Panther Party. At both arrests, by the way, the officers refused to show either search or arrest warrants.

Jarrett, as I'm sure you've figured out by now, was an undercover agent for the L. A. police department. As reported in the June, 1970 issue of Rights (a bi-monthly publication of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee), the case against Freed and Sutherland was dismissed at a February 16 pre-trial hearing by Federal District Judge Warren Ferguson. The latter, caustically critical of police entrapment methods, "ruled that Jarrett had in fact committed the crime for which Freed and Sutherland had been jailed. According to his own story, Jarrett 'somehow' had procured 10 hand grenades from the Naval Ordnance Depot at Long Beach (the grenades have never actually shown up) without registering the fact with the Secretary of the Treasury, as required by law..."

This is all an instructive further illustration of the uses to which undercover agents are being put. (If the Times has carried much of this story, I haven't seen it, but I await being corrected.) Anyway, Donald Freed has recently written me that "the arresting undercover Los Angeles policeman has been exposed in a pre-trial hearing as a penetration agent from the CIA. That means hard proof of CIA domestic infiltration of local police." Freed adds that "because of our prosecution of his and other agents' illegal acts, Jarrett has been transferred to Israel."

To do what for whom, I wonder. Anyway, I would expect some reportorial activity on this development from the Times L. A. bureau. For further information on this continuing case, you can write: Justice for All, P. O. Box 3314, Beverly Hills, California 90212.

A letter, with national campus implications, from Sam Rodner, Political Science Department, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio: "Since April 29... over 1000 students have been arrested; close to 100 Ohio Highway Patrolmen have been injured... 16 students have been wounded by police buckshot; over \$15,000 worth of tear gas has been used; over 5000 National Guardsmen have been called to duty on campus; and the price tag for the whole affair, including damages and salaries for the 'forces of order,' will go over \$2 million.

"What has happened here at Ohio State University is important, I believe, because the outcome of the struggle here will have important repercussions for other state universities in Ohio, such as Kent. What is at stake actually are the archaic ruling bodies which control state universities in Ohio—i. e. boards of trustees made up usually of politically appointed, elderly, conservative businessmen who know as much about what is happening on campus as well as

politically appointed, elderly conservative businessmen.

"Moreover, if Ohio State's lethargic student body can make itself into an effective, cohesive student movement, then just about any other student body on campus should be capable of the same thing.

"Another reason why the struggle here is so important is that Ohio State has the largest ROTC program in the nation. Unfortunately the strike thus far has failed to limit the size and influence of this program (although it must be said that the strike concentrated mostly on issues pertaining to black-related issues and to student power). Obviously if the nation's largest ROTC program can be significantly affected by a student strike, the repercussions vis-a-vis smaller programs on other campuses should be momentous.

"Furthermore, as more and more war-related research is kicked off some of the more radical campuses, such research is bound to gravitate to campuses such as OSU where it is believed that the student body can be more easily held in check.

STATINTL

OMAHA, NEBR.  
WORLD HERALD

M - 125,376

S - 273,394

JUN 23 1970

## Panthers Try 'Liberation' Plan in L.A.

Los Angeles Times Service.

Los Angeles — Black Panthers and the police are fighting a battle in south central Los Angeles that has shadows of an international Communist movement and includes the FBI and CIA.

Some Panthers say they are attempting to "liberate" the area by chasing the police out, then forming alliances with nonwhite foreign countries.

Using the teachings of Mao Tse-tung as a guide, the Panthers have trained at least 100 young men and women in guerrilla warfare, including sabotage, handling machine guns, hand grenades and other weapons.

These angry young blacks, who call themselves the vanguard of the "peoples' revolution," already have ambushed two officers, according to authorities.

And though the shooting has subsided in recent months and the Panthers are a small segment of the black community, they still seriously believe they can frighten the police away from the ghetto.

At the same time, Panther adherents charge that Police Chief Edward M. Davis has assumed almost dictatorial powers, disregarding the civil rights of the group, in his attempt to drive them out of the city.

Police won a temporary victory last December with a massive assault on three Panther buildings and the arrests of the party's leaders, but, free on bail, they have regrouped.

The Black Panther party was created in Los Angeles three years ago on the issue of police brutality.

According to a member, the Panthers hope to immobilize the police by making them afraid to enter the ghetto, then to make south-central Los Angeles a "liberated territory."

Some members report that the overall plan of the party is to create several pockets of "Liberated Territories" across the country and then form an alliance with the Chinese, North Vietnamese, North Koreans, Africans and other nonwhite people for mutual protection.

Their part is to sabotage war efforts in the United States if the war is directed at any of those people, Panthers say. The Panther leader in exile, Eldridge Cleaver, who was in phone contact with Los Angeles, is said to be negotiating for that treaty with foreign countries.

E - 20,659

JUN 13 1970

# Carroll Audience Hears CIA Backed 'Hard Hats'

By STEVE KLEINMEIES  
Freeman Staff

THE CENTRAL Intelligence Agency (CIA) sponsored the construction workers counter-demonstration in New York, a co-chairman of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam said Friday night.

Sidney Peck, 42, an associate professor of Sociology at Case Western Reserve University, said many persons close to the AFL-CIO out of Washington have estimated CIA money came through the Building Trades unions for demon-

strations in New York.

The street proof of the CIA funding was the number of Cuban refugees — typically funded by the CIA — foremost in the demonstration, Peck said.

Peck addressed about 250 persons at a meeting sponsored by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom at the Carroll College Union. The league is holding its 55th annual meeting this week at the college.

The top leadership of the AFL-CIO — some of those who revolve around George Meany, especially those in the building trades — has worked closely before with the CIA on the international level, Peck said.

A couple of the leaders have used CIA funds in countries where the CIA played a revolutionary role, Peck said.

On the student demonstrations, Peck said when the students shut down the universities to organize for movements against the war machine, the military machine will move to use police repression against the resistance in the country.

It is no accident people were shot in the back in Augusta and students were killed at Jackson and the National Guard carried live ammunition at Kent State, according to Peck.

"This is no accident. It is an escalation against resistance," he said.

Students wanted to close the universities so the schools could not aid the war machine and to give the students an opportunity to mold the university into an institution to serve the needs of the country, Peck explained.

The young know you cannot end future Vietnams, future racism and future ecological problems if you do not alter the institutions in the country, he said.

McGovern, Hatfield, and others recognize that and realize that if they don't move to end the war in Vietnam, "the ending of the war will take place on the streets of this country," he said.

Peck warned that the people of the country must be prepared to prevent a

up a puppet regime to replace Prince Sihanouk.

Sihanouk had kept his country free from the destruction of war but the United States could not accept the movement of enemy troops and supplies, according to Peck.

"The invasion of Cambodia was literally programmed by the coup d'etat," he said.

Now the United States has forced Sihanouk and his followers to combine forces with the resistance forces of Laos and Vietnam, Peck argued. If Nixon leaves Cambodia at the end of June, the forces of resistance will continue to function, he said.

military coup d'etat in the United States.

A military coup may be a new thing in this country, but if it can take place in Cambodia, South America, South and North Africa, Asia and Europe, then it can also take place here, he said.

The military has engaged the Rand Corporation to study the feasibility of holding elections in 1972, Peck said.

"I haven't a full report of the study, but I know it is in progress. Just the fact research is being done on the subject causes suspicion," Peck said.

A cabinet member last week denied such a study has been undertaken.)

Peck accused the United States of affecting the coup in Cambodia and setting

STATINTL

the world looks  
at the U.S.A.

## AS 'THE GUERRILLAS' SET FIRE TO AMERICA...

*A German playwright depicts  
a coup d'état in the U.S.*



Translated from DIE WELTWOCHE, Zürich

Rolf Hochhuth seems determined to prove that "all idols have clay feet." In *The Deputy*, he portrayed Pope Pius XII as an accomplice of Hitler. In *The Soldiers* he let go at Winston Churchill. In his new play, *The Guerrillas*, he takes on the U.S.A., which is supposed to have "the most perfect police apparatus in history." He emphasizes that his drama, marked by the assassination of an idealistic senator by the C.I.A., is "not anti-American." Before its recent opening in Germany, the play was discussed in this interview with Hochhuth by Reinhardt Stumm, editor of Basel's *Nachrichten* and publisher of the Swiss *Theater-Zeltung*.

REINHARDT STUMM: Herr Hochhuth, what is *Guerrillas* about?

ROLF HOCHHUTH: The play depicts preparations for a coup d'état in the U.S. For it is only in the centers of power, only in the U.S. or in the U.S.S.R., not in the highly industrialized satellites like West Germany or Czechoslovakia, that revolutions have favorable prospects—only when the revolutionaries infiltrate the state apparatus.

The people who really have a chance to pull off a coup d'état are not the street demonstrators, who can be beaten up or deported to Siberia, but the infiltrators who are willing to wear the strait-jacket of officer, civil servant or parliamentarian for years in order to attain the levers of power. These guerrillas put into practice on the stage what Luttwak recommends in his famous handbook. The coup d'état—the least bloody type of revolt, which

can avoid the massacre of civil war—is supposed to overthrow the U.S. plutocratic oligarchy, the club of 120 families who own over 85 percent of the people's wealth and to whom the two indistinguishable political parties and one of the few remaining dailies in New York, the *Times*, are subservient. The U.S. is the one civilized land in the world where no labor party to date has even been able to put up a candidate for election to the House of Representatives! Over a fourth of the population lives below the official "poverty line," while in 1968 forty times more money was spent on armaments—that is, for industry—than on the poor. "True theory must be developed in the context of concrete conditions and existing situations," said Marx, and that is what I tried to do in *Guerrillas*.

R.S.: You use Marx without being a Marxist, if I understand rightly your *Spiegel* article "Class

Warfare Is Not Over." Why are your guerrillas Marxists?

R.H.: They aren't. In his system, Marx did not work out the problem of the opposition. Not the least aspect of my guerrillas' fight is the absence of an opposition in the U.S. Both parties represent only the interests of the establishment.

R.S.: The student Left in Germany acknowledges only those systems of thought which are built along Marxist lines. To that extent, your play should have little success in those circles.

R.H.: Marx claimed that ownership is the root of oppression, but actually the means of oppression is power. If the state has sole ownership, it has total power. And super-power is always fascistic. What Marx wrote about capitalism is not false but merely one-sided. It was not as a capitalist that Truman dropped the atom bomb or as a monarchist or a Nazi that Wilhelm II and Hitler wanted to grab the Ukraine; it was not as a Communist that Stalin had Lenin's fellow-fighters murdered. The super-power is the immoral element, regardless of what flag it sails under. Super-powers can be humanized only by being weakened—divide and liberate! Every state has a degree of decency corresponding to its degree of fear.

R.S.: In *Guerrillas* you develop a



# A Scenario for a Military Coup d'Etat in the United States

by Edward Luttwak

*Ready when you are, C.B.*

**T**he Premise: During the recent open season for military take-overs in Africa, more than fifteen governments were overthrown by "mechanical" coups of the simplest kind. Against the background of a totally indifferent population, a group of army officers planned the coups by making partnership deals with the police chiefs and by arranging remote field exercises for loyalist troops. In most cases, the execution was straightforward: at sunrise a few hundred soldiers seized the usual buildings and facilities, arrested the more prominent politicians, and disarmed the Presidential Guard. The leaders of the coup then issued the routine announcement of a curfew, formed a Revolutionary Council and arranged a meeting with the representative of the dominant ex- or neo-colonial power. Thus a new government of X-land was established, in due course to be anointed with diplomatic recognition.

When most of the population is half-starved and illiterate, and political power is monopolized by a tiny elite, the constitutional apparatus of a legislature and an executive is mere "hardware," nothing more than buildings and documents. Both are of no consequence to the vast majority of the population, which can only watch without comprehension the new and mysterious political rituals performed by the elite. In these conditions, the brigade officers of a three-brigade army can almost always overthrow the government if the other two brigades have joined the plot or have been maneuvered out of town. The constitutional hardware is simply brushed aside, rating at most a passing mention in the routine post-coup communiqué.

In the United States, a simplistic coup of this kind could never succeed. For one thing, the officer-plotters would have to contend with the sheer size of the military establishment. The indispensable monopoly over all operational forces within reach of Washington, D. C., is almost impossible to secure when the forces to be subverted or neutralized consist of an Army of 1,500,000 men, a Marine Corps 300,000 strong, and another 1,300,000 men in the Navy and Air Force. Then of course the sheer size of the country and the degree of decentralization make an occupation of Washington almost irrelevant.

But the main barrier to a coup d'état in the United States is political rather than technical. Instead of an inert population whose political role is purely passive, there are the hundreds of thousands who operate the apparatus, the millions who participate in its workings and the tens of millions who understand, accept and respect the essentials of constitutional legality. Around the hardware of Federal, State and local political institutions there has grown the "software" of attitudes—accumulated confidence in the system and extensive vested interest in its continuing operation.

Since 1789 there have been many administrations but only one regime, so that for most of the population (including of course the military) patriotism and adherence to the political system are



**Headline/Exclusive**

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# THE SECRET EXECUTIVE ORDERS THAT CAN MAKE PRESIDENT NIXON A DICTATOR

*In the event of a national emergency - which can range from an increase in international tensions to a collapse in the stock market - there are now on the books a number of laws that give the Chief Executive the legal authority to suspend all Constitutional rights and "mobilize" every human, natural and industrial resource in the U.S.*

Poster

# Watching You

By Nicholas von Hoffman

CHICAGO, Feb. 20—As the police are increasingly used as the chosen instrument to deal with the crime problem, the race problem, the dope problem, the youth problem and the riot problem, the police, themselves, increasingly become a problem. Here in Chicago people are upset at learning that their local police department is quietly running a baby CIA operation, directed against the liberal-left community.

A rather complete description of Chicago's CIA, known locally as the Red Squad, has just been published in the Chicago Journalism Review in the form of a long article signed by Lois Wille, the Chicago Daily News' Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter. It is illustrated by a Bill Mauldin cartoon depicting a silly-looking hound dog, in a flowered disguise, sniffing out conspirators and other political malefactors.

The Review was started a few months ago by Chicago newspapermen who felt their slipping industry needed some sharp and continuous jabbing. Total newspaper circulation has dropped by almost 125,000 in the last year.

One way they're supplying critical stimulus is to print tough, controversial stories of a kind that don't often appear in the press here. They hit the bell with their Red Squad piece which accuses this covert arm of the police department of tapping phones, compiling political dossiers, entrapping and enticing others to commit crimes and committing crimes, i.e., burglary, themselves.

What makes the piece convincing is that it quotes from documents filched from the Red Squad's files. One of the most revealing is the political dossier on A. A. Rayner, a black, anti-Daley-machine alderman and a successful ghetto businessman who's always been a Martin Luther King-type racial moderate.

"Rayner now believes the words of Stokely Carmichael," the dossier explains. "However, many of the statements made by Rayner indicate several things—they may not be his own thoughts, or he may have been instructed to relate them in this manner by persons unknown at this writing. Nevertheless he has shifted his position in relation to militancy . . ."

The Review charges that these dossiers are quietly given out to political reliables in order to discredit the people they're written about. The publication also says that Chicago undercover policemen are actively egging people to attack the police and thereby committing crimes which will put them in jail and thus destroy their organizations and the causes for which they stand.

Mrs. Wille quotes one police provocateur, who was posing as a merchant seaman, as giving a speech at a meeting in which he said, "We sailors know how to take care of the cops and the black community is learning. You just have to beat the crap out of them." During the Democratic National Convention one of the incidents that got a lot of shock attention was an attempt to lower an American flag flying in Grant Park across the street from the Hilton Hotel. The Review has located a witness who says she identified one of the men trying to pull down the flag as an undercover Chicago policeman.

"In September, 1967, four Red Squad men broke into the office shared by several peace groups at 1602 W. Madison st.," writes Mrs. Wille. "They stole membership lists, typewriters, checkbooks and some personal letters of the director of the Fellowship of Reconciliation."

In addition to burglary, the Review says that Red Squad agents are being sent onto college campuses, not only to infiltrate political organizations their bosses don't agree with, but also to check up on what some of the radical teachers are saying in their classrooms.

The Review has been able to find out a good deal about how the Red Squad works. "Groups of four undercover men are assigned to one control agent who alone is supposed to know their identities and activities," says the magazine, which has published a number of pictures of these spectral law-enforcement officers and has traced their secret headquarters to a front called "Mid-Continent Import-Export." It hasn't been able to discover how much money is spent on Red Squad activities because, like the CIA, these figures are hidden in the budgets of other agencies.

There's no reason to suppose that Chicago is the only place in the country with its own little dirty-tricks department. It's a sound assumption that many other cities have them.

However well intentioned and/or hysterical the public officials are who sanction such operations, there is no question that the results are totally negative. Police clods who can't tell the difference between a moderate, black civic leader and an urban guerrilla are useless as guides. About all they can accomplish is to frighten people out of expressing their opinions or taking part in civic and political affairs.

Beyond that, they poison the atmosphere by giving people the unnerving sensation of being watched and they make those speeches about how there are legal and peaceful methods of social change into laughable exercises in irony.

They destroy public confidence and delude policy-makers into thinking we can solve our problems by trapping and incarcerating people who complain about them.

Exposure doesn't lead to curbing these practices. It's been some years now since the world learned that the CIA was playing dirty tricks on people in other countries but that has apparently not shamed the agency out of its ways. The only thing that has happened is that we are now willing to do the same things to our fellow countrymen.

"We don't seem to get much change in attitude or behavior," Mrs. Wille remarks. "My newspaper did a story on police raiding coffeehouses for young people sponsored by the YMCA, and last night there was another raid. I'm doing a series now on how come the housing code enforcement is poor—children dying of lead poisoning, slum fires, those kinds of things. We've been writing and publishing this story for 15 years."

STATINTL

## Cuban terrorists got CIA bombs

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 1 (UPI) — Explosives used by Cuban exiles in the terrorist bombings of five buildings here last July 19 came originally from the Central Intelligence Agency, a transcript of county grand jury proceedings revealed Monday.

In addition, the man who masterminded the bombings to call attention to efforts to start a revolt against Cuba's Fidel Castro was trained in the use of the explosives by the CIA.

This information was given to the county grand jury in secret session last month by two

FBI agents, Bernardo M. Perez and Richard Castillo.

The jury later indicted Hector M. Cornillot y Llano Jr. and Juan Garcia-Cardenas, both 30 and both from Miami, Fla., on 15 counts of illegally possessing and discharging explosives used in the July bombings.

The transcript, made public Monday, indicated the explosives were given by the CIA to Cuban refugees who were supposed to take part in the abortive Bay of Pigs operation.

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**Explosives in Five Bombings  
On Coast Traced to C.I.A.**

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 30 (AP) —Explosives used in five bombings in Los Angeles last July 19 came originally from the Central Intelligence Agency, according to county grand jury testimony made public Monday.

The transcript said that the explosives may have been originally designated for the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961.

Two agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Richard Castillo and Bernardo M. Perez,

testified last month during the grand jury's investigation of the bombing of five buildings.

They said that two Cuban exiles subsequently indicted in the case had been trained by the C.I.A. in the use of explosives for the abortive invasion.

Hector M. Cornillot y Llano Jr. and Juan Garcia-Cardenas, both 30 years old and residents of Miami, were charged on 15 counts of illegally possessing and discharging explosives.

Mr. Castillo said that after the Bay of Pigs invasion, explosives could be found anywhere in the Miami area.

BALTIMORE SUN  
31 DEC 1968

## Probe Links CIA With Explosives

Los Angeles, Dec. 30 (AP) — Explosives used in five bombings in Los Angeles last July 19 came originally from the Central Intelligence Agency, according to county grand jury testimony made public today.

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Within three hours, bombings occurred at offices of firms or organizations accused by Cuban exiles of being on friendly relations with the Cuban Government of Fidel Castro.

STATINTL

31 December 1962

## Gracias, CIA

STATINTL

Los Angeles (AP)—Explosives used in five anti-Castro bombings in Los Angeles last July 19 may have come originally from the Central Intelligence Agency, according to grand jury testimony made public yesterday. The transcript said the explosives may have been originally designated for the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961.

Two FBI agents, Richard Castillo and Bernardo M. Perez, testified last month that two Cuban exiles, subsequently indicted in the bombing, had been trained by the CIA in the use of explosives for the abortive invasion. They were Hector M. Cornillot y Llano Jr. and Juan Garcia-Cardenas, both 30, of Miami, Fla. One of the FBI agents testified that Cornillot, before his arrest, "said the explosives came from the CIA . . . that this was the original source and that it did not come directly from the CIA."

# CIA Explosives Used to Bomb Offices Here, FBI Men Testify

Bay of Pigs Materiel, Supplied by U.S., Was Employed by Cuban Exiles in L.A. Bombs, Grand Jury Transcript Says

BY RON EINSTOSS

Times Staff Writer

Explosives used by Cuban exiles to bomb five buildings here last July 19 came originally from the Central Intelligence Agency, according to a County Grand Jury transcript.

That revelation and the fact that the man who claims to have masterminded the bombings was trained in the use of explosives by the CIA is contained in the testimony released Monday of two FBI special agents.

Bernardo M. Perez and Richard Castillo were two of the 30 witnesses, most of them police officers or FBI agents, who testified during an inquiry last month which led to the indictment of two of the alleged bombers.

Hector M. Cornillot y Llano Jr. and Juan Garcia-Cardenas, both 30 and from Miami, are charged with 15 counts of illegally possessing and discharging explosives.

They are charged with three counts in connection with each of the five bombings, which occurred during a two-hour and 20-minute period beginning at midnight.

In making the disclosures, Perez and Castillo were quoting from conversations they had in October with Cornillot, before his arrest but while he was a suspect in the case.

"Was Mr. Cornillot during this conversation ever asked where they had obtained the explosives from?" Dep. Dist. Atty. Richard W. Hecht inquired of Perez.

"Yes sir," Perez replied. "He said the explosives came from the CIA, the Central Intelligence Agency, and he stated that this was the original source and that it did not come directly from the CIA."

Quoting Cornillot, Perez said:

"He (Cornillot) explained, which we already knew, that after the Bay of Pigs invasion, C-4 and other explosives were—could be found anywhere in the Miami area.

"Many of the Cubans who were sent on this invasion never actually went. We found they went to small islands near Cuba where they buried all of these weapons, knowing they could go back later and sell them.

## Training in Use Asserted

"And he (Cornillot) said that he had connections and that he could obtain these explosives."

Hecht asked Castillo if Cornillot, during any of their interviews with him, ever told where he received any training in the use of explosives.

"Yes sir, he did," answered the FBI agent, who, together with Perez, is attached to the Miami office.

Quoting Cornillot, Castillo said:

"He (Cornillot) said that he was part of the military unit that took part in the Bay of Pigs invasion in Cuba and that in preparation for that invasion he received extensive training in explosives and subsequently was very well acquainted with their makeup and their use."

Hecht asked if Cornillot had mentioned which organization gave him that training.

"Yes sir. He said it was the CIA," Castillo testified.

(The link between the CIA and the C-4 explosive was disclosed Aug. 9 in a story in The Times. The story cited "an oft-repeated assumption" that some of the explosives supplied for the Bay of Pigs invasion had been hidden by Cuban exiles. The story also reported seizure earlier of 10 pounds of the explosive and arrests of two Cuban Power suspects in Miami.)

Cornillot told the FBI agents, according to their testimony, that he was a member of "Los Subversivos," an action group of the militant "Cuban Power" organization.

Everything they did was to further the Cuban liberation movement, the witnesses said they learned in their interrogation of Cornillot.

Castillo testified that Cornillot told him after his arrest that he brought the explosives to Los Angeles

the first week in July, that he personally constructed the bombs and designated the targets.

According to further testimony, Cornillot said the purpose of the bombings was to bring attention to the Cuban liberation movement and to show the sincerity of the exiles.

This, Cornillot allegedly explained to the FBI agents, would encourage Americans to help the movement by providing arms and money for use in the liberation of Cuba.

Cornillot and Garcia-Cardenas were arrested Oct. 28 in Miami.

## Suspect Extradited

Garcia-Cardenas was extradited from Miami last week and is awaiting trial here.

Hecht said Cornillot is being held for trial in New York City in connection with several bombings there.

The witnesses did not tell how the targets here were selected, but it is believed that business firms and government agencies which had done business with Cuba were chosen.

The buildings bombed here were the Government of Mexico, Tourist Department, the Mexican National Tourist Council, the Shell Data Processing Center, Air France Airlines and Japan Airlines.

The Mexican National Tourist Council office is in Beverly Hills, while the others are near downtown Los Angeles.



NEWARK N.J.  
STAR-LEDGER

STATINTL

M - 249,729  
S - 403,863  
DEC 31 1968

# A. BOMBINGS: Did CIA give explosives to Cuban exiles?

Special to The Star-Ledger

LOS ANGELES — Explosives used by Cuban exiles to bomb five buildings in the Los Angeles area last July 19 originally came from the Central Intelligence Agency, according to a Los Angeles County grand jury transcript.

That revelation and the fact that the man who claims to have masterminded the bombings was trained in the use of explosives by the CIA is contained in the testimony of two special agents for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

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where they had obtained the explosives from?" Deputy District Attorney Richard W. Hect, inquired of Perez.

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"And he (Cornillot) said that he had connections and that he could obtain these explosives."

Hecht asked Castillo if Cornillot, during any of their interviews with him, ever told where he received any training in the use of explosives.

"Yes sir, he did," answered the FBI agent, who, together with Perez, is attached to the Miami office.

Quoting Cornillot, Castillo said:

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Cornillot told the FBI agents, according to their testimony, that he was a member of "los subversivos," an action group of militant "Cuban power" organization.

Everything they did was to further the Cuban liberation movement, the witnesses said. They learned in their interrogation of Cornillot.

Castillo testified that Cornillot told him after his arrest that he (Cornillot) brought the explosives to Los Angeles the first week in July, that he personally constructed the bombs and designated the targets.

STATINTL

## Cubans Used CIA Explosives In Los Angeles Bombings

Los Angeles — (UPI) — Explosives used by Cuban exiles in the terrorist bombings of five buildings here last July 19 came originally from the Central Intelligence Agency, a transcript of county grand jury proceedings reveals.

In addition, the man who masterminded the bombings to call attention to efforts to start a revolt against Cuban Premier Fidel Castro had been trained in the use of the explosives by the CIA.

All of the bombings occurred at offices maintaining diplomatic or economic relations with Cuba.

This information was given to the county grand jury in secret session last month by two Federal Bureau of Investigation agents, Bernardo M. Perez and Richard Castillo.

### Transcript Released

The jury later indicted Hector M. Cornillot y Llano, Jr., and Juan Garcia-Cardenas, both 30 and both from Miami, on 15 counts of illegally possessing and discharging explosives used in the July bombings.

The transcript, made public yesterday, indicated the explosives were given by the CIA to Cuban refugees who were supposed to take part in the abortive Bay of Pigs operation.

Perez and Castillo quoted from conversations they had with Cornillot last October before his arrest.

Deputy District Attorney Richard W. Hecht asked Perez, "Was Mr. Cornillot during this conversation ever asked where they had obtained the explosives?"

"Yes, sir," Perez replied, "he said the explosives came from the CIA, the Central Intelligence Agency."

"He explained, which we already knew, that after the Bay of Pigs invasion explosives could be found anywhere in the Miami area."

"Many of the Cubans who were sent on this invasion never actually went. We found they went to small islands near Cuba where they buried all these weapons, knowing they could go back later and sell them."

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### Given Training

Castillo also testified Cornillot told him he was "part of the military unit that took part in the Bay of Pigs invasion in Cuba and that in preparation for that invasion he received extensive training in explosives and subsequently was very well acquainted with their makeup and their use."

Castillo was asked what organization had given the training and he replied, "he (Cornillot) said it was the CIA."

Garcia-Cardenas and Cornillot were arrested in Miami Oct. 28, the FBI agent said. Garcia-Cardenas has been brought here for trial and Cornillot is in New York awaiting trial in connection with several bombings there.

STATINTL

# Cuba Exiles

## STRAYING

## CIA BOMBS

### How Cuban Exiles Got CIA Bombs

Times-Post Service

Los Angeles

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#### ORGANIZATION

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#### PURPOSE

Castillo testified that Cornillot told him after his arrest that he (Cornillot) brought the explosives to Los Angeles the first week in July, and that he personally constructed the bombs and designated the targets.

According to further testimony, Cornillot said the purpose of the bombings was to bring to the attention of the American people the Cuban liberation movement and to show the sincerity of the exiles.

This, Cornillot allegedly explained to the FBI agents, would encourage Americans to help the movement by providing arms and money for use in the liberation of Cuba.

Cornillot and Garcia Cardenas were arrested October 28 in Miami.

Garcia Cardenas was extradited from Miami last week and is awaiting trial here.

#### NEW YORK

Hecht said Cornillot is being held for trial in New York City for his alleged role in several bombings there.

The witnesses did not tell how the targets here were selected, but it is believed that business firms and government agencies which had done business with Cuba were chosen.

The buildings bombed here were the Government of Mexico Tourist Department, the Mexican National Tourist Council, the Shell Data Processing Center, Air France Airlines and Japan Airlines.

WASHINGTON  
DAILY NEWS  
31 DEC 1968

STATINTL

Explosives used by Cuban exiles in the terrorist bombings of five Los Angeles buildings last July 19 came originally from the CIA, a transcript of county grand jury proceedings has revealed. ✓

## FBI Testimony Link CIA to Bombings in L.A.

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 30 (UPI)—Explosives used by Cuban exiles in the terrorist bombings of five buildings here last July 19 came originally from the Central Intelligence Agency, a transcript of county grand jury proceedings revealed today.

In addition, it was disclosed that the man who masterminded the bombings to call attention to efforts to start a revolt against Cuba's Fidel Castro was trained in the use of the explosives by the CIA.

This information was given to the county grand jury in secret session last month by two FBI agents, Bernardo M. Perez and Richard Castillo.

The jury later indicted Hector M. Cornillot Llano Jr. and Juan Garcia-Cardenas, both 30 and both from Miami, Fla., on 15 counts of illegally possessing and discharging explosives used in the July bombings.

The transcript, made public today, indicated the explosives were given by the CIA to Cuban refugees who

were supposed to take part in the abortive Bay of Pigs operation.

Perez and Castillo quoted from conversations they had with Cornillot last October before his arrest.

Perez was asked: "Was Mr. Cornillot during this conversation ever asked where they had obtained the explosives?"

"Yes, sir," Perez replied, "he said the explosives came from the CIA, the Central Intelligence Agency, and he stated that this was the original source and that it did not come directly from the CIA."

Castillo testified Cornillot told him he was "part of the military unit that took part in the Bay of Pigs invasion in Cuba and that in preparation for that invasion he received extensive training in explosives and subsequently was very well acquainted with their makeup and their use."

Castillo was asked what organization had given the training and he replied, "He (Cornillot) said it was the CIA."

STATINTL

# Ray Case Is Even More Tangled

By Henry P. Leifermann

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Nov. 16 (UPI)—The mixed-up case against James Earl Ray in the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. showed every sign this week of becoming even more tangled before a single word of testimony is ever heard in court.

Since Ray unceremoniously dumped Arthur J. Hanes as defense attorney and hired Percy Foreman last Tuesday, the case has quickly taken on these elements:

- Would-be eyewitnesses, one an 11-year-old Negro boy, are cropping up to say they saw the assassin.

- Attorneys, defendant, defendant's brothers, and authors are squabbling over who should make how much money out of the case.

- Arthur Hanes is negotiating to sell his story of Ray's defense to Life magazine, and refusing to turn over his files, if he has any, to Foreman, who presumably could read them in Life if he wanted to.

- Hanes now claims he may have been hired only as an ingredient to add more racial tension to the April 4 slaying of the Nation's major civil rights figure.

When Ray switched attorneys, Judge W. Preston Battle ordered Hanes to give Foreman all his files and research. Hanes was put under \$1000 bond to enforce the judge's order on the research, and also to prevent Hanes from talking about the case.

"I'll let Tennessee keep that \$1000," Hanes said. "I keep my files right up here," he added, pointing to his forehead. "I never forget anything; times, names, dates, places, distances, calibrations—it's all up here."

## Reports Blank Check.

Whatever Hanes has, and wherever he keeps it, Life magazine wants to buy it. "They offered me a blank check," Hanes said.

Gerald Morre, Time-Life Bureau chief in Chicago, confirmed that negotiations are under way but said "no blank check" was offered, no specific figure mentioned, and no contract yet signed.

Ray's brothers, John and Jerry, also have become aware of the publication possibilities. The result is some blekering over who gets how much from which story in which magazine. The friction is thought to have contributed to Hanes's troubles with Ray's brothers, who felt Hanes should have gotten less and their brother more from Huie's articles.

Foreman, who has a warehouse full of merchandise payments in lieu of cash, has not yet said what his fee is nor how Ray will pay for it.

Finally, there is the fake chase of the white Mustang automobile broadcast on Memphis police radio frequencies F1 and F2 minutes after the assassination. At the time of the assassination it was thought the phony chase was a plot by accomplices to lure police into another part of town. But the Memphis Police Department has leaked to several reporters hints that two teen-aged ham radio operators have confessed they were responsible for the phony chase broadcast, and did it as a prank.

- A mysterious and phony chase broadcast over police radio and thought to be possible evidence of a conspiracy may have been the irresponsible prank of two teen-aged ham radio operators.

## Claimed Bombshell

Ray's trial was postponed until March 3 Tuesday when Foreman, the celebrated Texan who defended heiress Candy Mossler and claims one loss to the electric chair in 1000 murder cases, took over the defense.

Two of the many sides in the case claim at least one eyewitness each. The prosecution claims Charles Q. Stephens, a disabled war veteran who lived in the dollar-a-day flophouse the state said Ray waited in to kill King.

Hanes claims he had an eyewitness, "a bombshell" whom he refused to identify.

And there is the 11-year-old

## Since Switch in Counsel

Negro boy, whom Hanes claimed he never heard of, the prosecution remains silent about and other sources say may have been scared into silence.

The boy supposedly saw a white man with a rifle jump from bushes atop an embankment that faced the Lorraine Motel where King was standing when he was shot. Behind the bushes, in the same trajectory from window to balcony, is the bathroom window the prosecution said was the ambush hideout.

The boy ran to a Memphis fire station 100 yards from the Lorraine, breathlessly told three firemen—one of them a Negro—and then was whisked to police headquarters, according to sources.

## Still at Center

Although Hanes was dismissed out of hand by Ray, the attorney remains a cog in the center of the case.

In an interview the former Birmingham Mayor noted another bizarre element.

"It wouldn't surprise me at all," Hanes said when asked if it were likely that he was "set up" by men who plotted King's murder, and in fact was never intended to take the case to trial.

The theory behind this plot within a plot, Hanes noted, could be that his selection—he was a segregationist Mayor and successfully defended three Ku Klux Klansmen in the highway murder of Viola Liuzzo—would make the murder appear to be the work of white racists.

Author William Bradford Huie, in a copyright series of articles in Look magazine based on information from Ray, contends there was a conspiracy to kill King and its aim was to touch off waves of

racial violence even more severe than that which actually occurred.

Hanes said he and his son, Arthur Jr., 27, also an attorney, had decided that "only two groups could have done this: the CIA and blackmillants financed by Cuba or Red China." Hanes felt that only a clandestine organization with the backing of some government could have accomplished

STATINTL



# Ray's Ex-Lawyer Suggests He Was Hired for Racial As

Special to The New York Times

BIRMINGHAM, Nov. 15—Arthur J. Hanes, the dismissed attorney for James Earl Ray, contended today that it was "entirely possible" that he had been picked as Ray's attorney only to underscore the racial aspect of the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and that he had never been expected to be the actual trial lawyer.

Mr. Hanes has received wide publicity for defending three Ku Klux Klansmen in a civil rights case.

Mr. Hanes said it was also possible that Ray had been told, even before Dr. King was murdered, that "he should contact me" if he was arrested.

The lawyer offered his observation in an interview while staring down at the city through the huge plate glass windows of The Club, a graceful dining and drinking club on Red Mountain on Birmingham's south side.

## Foresaw Possible Switch

He said he still could hardly credit the brusque manner in which he and his son, Arthur J. Hanes Jr., were dismissed from the Ray case last Sunday night when they arrived at the Shelby jail in Memphis to give Ray a new gray suit to wear during his trial. Upon his arrival the lawyer was handed a note from Ray stating he had been relieved.

Mr. Hanes said that for months he had been aware of many indications that Ray might be preparing to switch attorneys and that about a month ago he became virtually certain that this was Ray's

plan. The attorney said that he had mentioned this possibility to the scheduled trial judge, W. Preston Battle, and to the prosecutor, P. M. Canale, the Shelby County Attorney General.

"But Ray didn't say anything and Artie and I had to proceed on the assumption that we were going to trial and so we put together just a great defense for Ray, including a few bombshells," Mr. Hanes said.

The suggestion that Mr. Hanes was retained with an intention of underscoring the racial aspects of Dr. King's murder, Mr. Hanes contended, arose from a combination of circumstances.

Mr. Hanes was elected Mayor of Birmingham six years ago on a racist platform after joining forces with Alabama's arch segregationist, Eugene (Bull) Connor, then the Birmingham Police Commissioner.

Three years ago, Mr. Hanes was hired to defend three Ku Klux Klansmen who were accused of murdering Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo, a civil rights worker slain during the Selma to Montgomery march.

Mr. Hanes is a former agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and a onetime contract employee of the Central Intelligence Agency. But, he said, because of his activities he came to be regarded nationally as a segregationist and to some extent a racist.

## Desire for Strife Seen

William Bradford Huie, the author who bought the rights to Ray's life story, says in an article in the current Look

magazine that from information furnished to him by Ray, he concluded that the Negro civil rights leader's murder had been ordered by men who wanted his death to provoke outbreaks of violence between whites and Negroes. They were said, for this reason, to prefer that the murder occur in Birmingham, Montgomery or Selma.

When Ray was arrested in the London airport on June 8, Michael Eugene, a London solicitor, was appointed to advise him during the hearings in the British courts.

After his arrest, Ray wrote letters to two lawyers in the United States—Mr. Hanes and F. Lee Bailey of Boston. The letters were dated June 10.

While visiting in Memphis this week, Mr. Eugene said that Mr. Bailey had telephoned and said that he could not undertake Ray's defense.

Mr. Hanes said that he had received a telephone call from Mr. Eugene on June 13, "the same day I got the letter from Ray."

## C.I.A. Role Considered

Mr. Eugene told Mr. Hanes in the telephone call that Ray had said that money for the defense attorneys would be no problem.

"He told me that \$100,000 was available," Mr. Eugene said in Memphis.

After the Eugene telephone call and the letter from Ray, Mr. Hanes and his son went to their summer home in southern Alabama and mulled over the proposal for three days. Mr. Hanes said they had concluded that for an assassin to murder Dr. King and to elude capture for more than two months while more than 3,000 Federal Bureau of Investigation agents were searching for him would require elaborate planning. Mr. Hanes said they could think of only two groups that they considered capable of carrying out this type of plan—the C.I.A. and black militants with Red Chinese or Cuban backing.

Mr. Hanes decided that he and his son should undertake Ray's defense notwithstanding their conclusion and that they should proceed on the assumption that the murder had been plotted and financed by what he called "black militants with foreign ties."

In the Nov. 12 Look Magazine, which was published in late October, Mr. Huie wrote of Ray's encounters in Canada with a blond Cuban named Raoul. Ray is quoted as saying that Raoul hired him at first to haul narcotics across the border into the United States but told him he would later be

Raoul was Ray's contact man, according to the Look article. But Mr. Hanes says he does not believe that the man was blond, a Cuban, or named Raoul. He thinks Ray disguised the description of his contact for some reason of his own.

Mr. Hanes said in Memphis last Monday that the \$100,000 that Ray had said was available for the defense had never materialized. Mr. Hanes received part of his fee and expenses from \$30,000 that Mr. Huie paid toward his contract with Ray for the rights to Ray's story. The contract was signed July 8 while Ray was still in England.

Mr. Hanes said that the attitude of Ray's brothers, John Ray and Jerry Ray, had helped him form the conclusion that he was never to be the defense attorney at Ray's trial.

"You would expect the family to flock around the attorney to offer help and advice," Mr. Hanes said. "But I couldn't even get close to them. I offered to meet with them in St. Louis, Memphis, Birmingham or any place else. But I never did see either one of them."

Mr. Hanes said that he had not learned until after he had been dismissed by Ray that the two brothers had ordered a copy of the British hearings on the Ray case.

"That certainly indicated they had tried to find another attorney," he said.

Percy Foreman, the Houston criminal lawyer who agreed Sunday night to represent Ray, said that John Ray and Jerry Ray had asked him last week to take the case and that he had reluctantly agreed to do so after going to Memphis to talk to Ray himself.

Mr. Hanes, who has been cited for contempt of court in Memphis for making public statements about the Ray case, posted a \$1,000 cash bond with the court in Memphis Tuesday as a guarantee for his return later to be sentenced for the contempt of court.

"They can keep the \$1,000," Mr. Hanes said. "But I guess I'll have to find a new ski resort. I don't suppose I can ever go to Gatlinburg again." Gatlinburg, Tenn. is a ski resort town frequented by many residents of Alabama.

Mr. Hanes said that Tennessee law he cannot be extradited for contempt of court.



THE WASHINGTON POST  
24 DEC 1968**The Washington Merry-Go-Round**

*By Drew Pearson  
and Jack Anderson*  
**Inaugural Trouble**

Washington will have an extremely touchy job during the forthcoming Inaugural to prevent demonstrations and disruptions by militants. Extraordinary precautions are already under way. The city is flooded with undercover men, not only from the police and the Secret Service but from the CIA and the FBI. Crowd control aid has been sought from Philadelphia and Baltimore police for Inaugural duty.

Chief worry is over the dissident underground. Information indicates that they're cying as excellent bonfire material the lumber piles with which the Inaugural stands are being built. The idea now is that the grandstands might be burned down the night before the parade.

There's also some talk of the dissidents requesting officially that a section of the parade be set aside for marchers who object to Nixon's Inaugural. This might be done as a part of the regular parade in exchange for a pledge not to riot.

The entire Inauguration is in the extremely capable hands of Willard Marriott, head of the Hot Shoppes and Marriott Motels. He knows the Capital like a book, but is also aware that he has plenty of headaches.

# Black Chicago:

## anger amidst the extravaganza

By Charles Hightower  
Guardian staff correspondent

Chicago

Security units of the Chicago police department are watching a magnetic map of the city with the black communities prominently marked. Pictures of the map can be instantaneously transmitted over a closed-circuit television for monitoring by intelligence agencies of the FBI, the CIA and the U.S. military.

On the weekend before the Democratic national convention, the front page of a weekly newspaper oriented to the Chicago black community carried a small box which read:

"Bulletin . . . Gov. Samuel Shapiro signed into law the 1968 Illinois State stop and frisk bill late Wednesday evening."

A day before the opening session of the convention, in the Loop, Chicago's downtown business district, a subway train pulled into the Harrison St. station and two men got off fighting each other. They were both young: a black man and a white man. Passengers waiting for the southbound train scattered as the combatants skirmished the length of the platform. After a fierce fist fight, a cop arrived and marched the two men off to the police station.

While 6,000 troops of the Illinois National Guard billeted in armories in Chicago and stationed themselves at strategic points throughout the city (Soldiers Field on the lakefront, Midway Airport on the central west side, and Jackson Park on the black south side), a series of developing racial assaults, labor struggles, waged by black workers, and a growing tension bred in the clime of an armed police camp might be the prelude to a social explosion here.

Rev. Jesse Jackson, an associate of Rev. Ralph Abernathy in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), said in Chicago that the black communities will no longer "take police brutality lying down." When a Chicago reporter asked what measures would be taken, he replied, "It will come out in the wash."

Jackson, national director of Operation Breadbasket, a civil rights group aiming to increase black employment in large corporations, introduced a young black man who charged that six Chicago cops beat him after he was sopped for a minor traffic violation on State St. in the South Side black ghetto.

Duke O'Neil, attorney for The Woodlawn Organization (TWO), a black civic organization, told of three other cases of police brutality reported in the last two weeks. "There has been no satisfaction from the complaints," he said.

TWO has issued a trio of mild proposals: 1) formation of independent local citizens review boards; 2) the demand that black policemen be put into policy-making positions in the police department; and 3) that more black cops be assigned to the black community.

To buttress the Guardsmen stationed in Chicago, Mayor Richard J. Daley also secured 8,000 Vietnam-veteran troops from Fort Hood, Tex., for duty in Chicago.

"A show of force such as this is really designed to inflame rather than maintain a calm situation," said Mayor Richard G. Hatcher of Gary, Ind. Hatcher expressed concern that the presence of such force was motivated by "racial overtones."

Hatcher spoke at a press conference on Aug. 22 in the Gary City Hall which was attended by Congressman John Conyers, Jr. (D-Mich).

Meanwhile in Chicago, three labor disputes focused on the assault against racism conducted by black workers.

A general wildcat strike of black transit workers tried up the city beginning at 12:01 a.m. on Aug. 25, the eve of the convention. Black bus and subway operators struck the city-owned transit system in a fight against "racism in the transit union." The workers' demands hit on a union policy which allows retired (predominantly white) transit workers to vote on policy-making issues in union deliberations. Most of these pensioned retirees exercise a "racist influence" in union affairs, say the striking black transit men. The striking workers also seek "adequate representation" on union policy boards. This is the second strike in six weeks by the black transit operators.

A strike of 3,600 black cabbies against the Yellow Cab Company and the Checker Taxi Company complicated the transportation tie-up in this city, leaving fewer than 7,000 independent cabs operating in this convention city.

Richard Howard, one of the striking cabbies and a member of Local 777 of the Democratic Union Organizing Committee, the Chicago cab drivers union, explained that "wages and a demand for installation of protective glass inside cabs" were among those demands made. He also decried racism in the union which allocated the least advantageous working shifts to black drivers.

A week before the preliminary sessions of the convention, the 1,200,000-member Steelworkers Union met in biennial convention in Chicago, confronted by a picket line of black steelworkers who proposed the appointment of one black union man to half the all-white executive committees, and the selection of a black vice-president for the union board.

When asked at a press conference whether he intended to make the recommended changes, union president I.W. Abel replied: "Very definitely not."

Black members of the Steelworkers Union constituted one-fourth of the total membership, but they are not represented on one executive policy-making committee and are employed in only two of 14 departments in the union's headquarters in Pittsburgh.

Abel stated he opposes the concept of appointment "based on race" as it "would open the door to demands that, say, a Welshman should be appointed also."

Black Chicago is boiling. If the riot does not occur during the closed and armed camp of the Democratic convention, people here mention Labor Day or Columbus Day or Thanksgiving Day. They think the black uprising is inevitable and that only the time is a question.

M - 175,076

S - 202,016

AUG 25 1968

STATINTL

## Battle Order For Chicago, 1968

By our estimate, there will be one policeman or soldier available for every three persons attending the Democratic National Convention. It is understandable if delegates, alternates, guests and news media personnel are not yet quite sure whether that's reassuring or ominous.

Many of the visitors to Chicago will be less concerned about seeing the olive branch in the platform on Vietnam; more concerned that it be in evidence on the approaches to the National Amphitheatre.

This is the tenor of the times. The United States and the world are in a state of flux, struggling for purpose and direction. Things were kept under tight control at the Republican convention in Miami Beach mainly because a kind of no man's land was created around it. Even so, there was a riot in Miami itself that had to be quelled during the convention.

Chicago's stockyards (from which, we are told, much of the offensive odor has been eliminated) forms something of a buffer zone against trouble at the Amphitheatre on one side. There is a 2,136-foot long chain link fence topped with barbed wire along the west side. Even so, from the time delegates and others attending the convention leave their hotels, they will go through at least six credentials checkpoints before being admitted to the hall.

The last report we had was that much

of the activity in Chicago outside the National Amphitheatre could not be shown on television because of the strike by communications workers which barred placement of vital equipment. This could be a godsend to the Democrats if some of the expected thousands of demonstrators for assorted causes get out of hand.

David Brinkley of the National Broadcasting Company hinted some days ago that confinement of live television to the convention hall might be by design. Whose design, he didn't say, but Mayor Richard Daley and the Democratic National Committee are implied.

If the Democrats run true to form, they may provide enough action on the convention floor to at least keep the American public distracted from that great struggling mass of humans and causes outside.

Even so, with Chicago police, Cook County police, National Guardsmen, firemen, Army units, the FBI, the Secret Service and the CIA on hand, every person attending this convention should qualify for a battle star and ribbon, maybe even a combat infantryman's badge.

The only consolation, if this is to be viewed as democracy struggling to redeem itself, is that it's still far superior to being run down by Russian tanks.

PETERSBURG, VA.  
PROGRESS-INDEX

E - 22,591  
S - 22,128  
AUG 24 1968

STATINTL

## Enter The Demonstrators

### (Editorial Research Reports)

Opponents of the war in Vietnam will arrive from all over the country to begin demonstrations today. The Democratic National Convention opens at the Amphitheatre on Monday.

"Do we now take a look at America, at this country where freedom is the very keystone of government, where free institutions are our pride and joy and where the people, by virtue of representative government, select at all levels those who shall speak for them, and then confess that it is not safe for a candidate for the Presidency to present himself to the people?"

The mellifluous phrasing is that of the Republican Senate Leader, Everett McKinley Dirksen, but it is particularly relevant to the Democratic National Convention opening in Chicago on Monday. The Democratic parley will have the most elaborate security preparations in convention history.

About 800 National Guardsmen will be on "regularly scheduled drills" each night of the convention in nearby armories. Chicago police will work 12-hour shifts during the convention week. From 1,000 to 3,000 will be on duty near the International Amphitheatre during the convention sessions.

A 2,136-foot long chain link fence topped with barbed wire has been thrown up along the west side of the amphitheatre. A buffer zone is provided by the huge eight-block area of the stockyards, now mostly empty.

Cook County sheriff's police will be available for emergencies. More than 200 firemen, including specialists in explosives and crowd control, will be on duty at the convention hall. Inside the amphitheatre, reports the *Wall Street Journal*, police and Secret Service personnel will be station-

ed on a catwalk 95 feet above the convention floor. *Parade* states that Army units, the FBI, and the CIA will be on hand. From the time delegates leave their hotels they will go through at least six credentials checkpoints before being admitted to the hall.

John B. Criswell, treasurer of the Democratic National Committee and executive director of the convention, on Aug. 14 disclosed that the seating arrangement inside the hall will exclude the general public. David Brinkley of the National Broadcasting Company has openly hinted that confinement of live television to the convention hall might be by design.

Anti-riot equipment of the Chicago police has been beefed up. Some 8,000 additional canisters of the disabling chemical Mace were distributed to police. Even manhole covers were sealed.

The coalition for an Open Convention has been seeking since July 13 to obtain the 100,000-seat Soldier Field for a rally on Aug. 25. The coalition supports Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy (Minn.) for the Democratic Presidential nomination. However, McCarthy on Aug. 12 said he hoped his supporters would stay at home rather than come to Chicago to avoid "the possibility of unintended violence or disorder."

Hosea Williams, political director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, on Aug. 11 called for nonviolent demonstrations in Chicago. "I don't mind a blood bath, because we're bleeding in Vietnam," Williams said, "but a violent demonstration would give Democrats a free pass to the White House."

The Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, SCLC president, went before television cameras and walked the streets of Miami on Aug. 7 to quell a situation menacing the Republican convention. One must hope for similar restraint in Chicago.

STATINTL

*Press Intelligence, Inc.*  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001

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ROANOKE, VA.  
WORLD-NEWS

E - 47,940

AUG 24 1968

The Democratic National Convention opening in Chicago on Monday threatens to be one of the longest, bitterest, most disorderly and even bloodiest gatherings in the history of Mr. Jefferson's Party.

Never before have such security precautions been taken for a convention. The hall itself is blocked off by barbed wire. Delegates and others attending will have to pass through numerous checkpoints, displaying their credentials. Supporting the municipal police will be hundreds of Illinois state troopers, Secret Service, FBI and CIA agents with thousands of National Guardsmen and U.S. troops in reserve near the Windy City.

PORTLAND, MAINE  
E-28,768

AUG 23 1968

## Convention Security

STATINTL

Security precautions for the Democratic National Convention in Chicago next week are typical of our times—and a sad commentary it is.

Potential demonstrators have been drifting into the city for days. The anti-war forces will probably be raising a fierce hue and cry before the first gavel ever falls. Even if Senator Eugene McCarthy's energetic and youthful forces take his advice and confine their demonstrations to their respective home towns, the anti-war strength in Chicago may well be formidable.

Security will exceed greatly that arranged for the Republican convention in Miami Beach. The President of the United States didn't go to the Florida gathering. Neither did the Vice President.

Some 800 national guardsmen will be on "regularly scheduled drills" each night of the convention. They'll be in armories close to any likely scene of action. From 1,000 to 3,000 police will be in or near the International Amphitheater during sessions of the convention. During the convention period Chicago police will work 12-hour shifts.

A chain link fence 36 feet long and topped with barbed wire has been erected along the west side

of the amphitheater. The eight-block section of almost empty stockyards will provide a buffer zone. More than 200 firemen, including specialists in explosives and crowd control, will be on duty in the convention hall. Cook County sheriff's police will be standing by for emergencies.

Police and Secret Service men will watch the proceedings from a catwalk 95 feet above the convention floor. Army units, FBI agents, and the CIA people will be in the crowds although more unobtrusively than some of the other forces. Delegates will go through at least six credential checkpoints between their hotels and convention hall. Some 8,000 extra canisters of Mace have been distributed to police and even the manhole covers have been sealed.

And all this is for a convention of one of the nation's two major political parties. All this in a nation where freedom rings. All this in a nation which is scared because it is no longer safe for the President or the ordinary citizen to go abroad on the public streets.

Why, we wonder, when it is necessary for a political convention to be held in a fortress, does any man want to become president?

Washington Post  
11 August 1968

STATINTL

## CONVENTION SECURITY

When the Democratic Convention opens in Chicago later this month, it will be the most heavily guarded in history. In addition to city and state police, National Guard and Army units as well as the Secret Service, the FBI and the CIA will be on hand.

The International Amphitheatre where the convention will be held -- unless last-minute circumstances cause a change -- is located in a Chicago slum area where law enforcement officers fear anything from fire to seizure.

Chicago's Democratic Mayor Richard J. Daley, known for his hard line against civil disorders as well as for his political ambitions, has announced that the city will not tolerate any convention disruptions. Daley is also determined to maintain the safety of Lyndon Johnson, who to

date has become the most closely guarded U.S. President in history.



TORONTO, ONTARIO  
TELEGRAMSEP 6 1969  
E - 227,700

## SUNDAY OUTING TO SEE THE

## GUERRILLAS

**T**HE EVERGLADES, Florida—What's that khaki-colored piece of metal nestled in the swamp among the alligators? What is that man-made piece of machinery being dive-bombed by the roseate spoonbill? And who are all those people in fatigues and camouflage, crawling on their bellies through the smelly swampland?

The answer is weapons, and soldiers: Cuban, Haitian, sometimes Venezuelan, occasionally Honduran. For these days anybody who wants to mount an invasion or export a revolution in this hemisphere seems to set up headquarters in the Everglades, South Florida's coffee-colored 'river of grass.'

On Sundays, families drive out along the isolated roads that lead from populous Miami into the swamplands to have a look at some of the better-known sites. Sometimes they rent 'swamp buggies', 4-wheel drive tractors with giant wheels, for their sight-seeing in the trackless wastes.

The more adventurous penetrate the inaccessible, better-hidden camps by air-boat, which is a boat-plane hybrid vehicle, a lightweight metal hull powered by an airplane prop and capable of skimming a soggy surface only an inch deep.

The curiosity-seekers are sometimes joined by one of the seven CIA members (an eighth was recently transferred out of Miami) whose duty it is to keep an eye on the revolutionaries. The CIA is inclined to treat them as boy scouts, maintaining a laissez faire policy toward their war games as long as they stick to wooden guns and water pistols, and inspirational talks around the campfire.

(Fires are necessary for cooking and to ward off animals and mosquitos, but they are always banked low in the honest belief that this will keep prying eyes from finding the campsite.)

But when things get out of control — the trainees engage in a power struggle and fight among themselves, or somebody gets hurt, or they get caught using real weapons — the CIA nudges the FBI or local authorities (who regard the whole problem as non-local) into action.

Then the training camp is broken up, somebody is arrested, and the soldiers who are left behind pick up their old kit bags and relocate somewhere else.

Anyone who wants to start an invasion sets up their HQ in Florida, writes Terry Johnson King

At one time the prime locations for training camps were in the Bahamas; but the British, who still retain responsibility for the military protection of those islands, took a dim view of the international waves created when invasions were launched from there, so Her Majesty's government cracked down on the immigration of dissidents.

The Florida Keys, stretching from Miami to Key West, were also used for training grounds for a while, but would-be invaders were always getting tangled up with irate fishermen, beach-combing children, lovers, and shell collectors — so they switched to the 'Glades.

Off-limits by some informal but mutual agreement is that portion of the Everglades owned by the Federal Government — the Everglades National Park — to which hundreds of thousands of tourists trek each year to marvel at nature in the raw.

But surrounding the Park, beginning as close as 20 miles from downtown Miami, is the boggy wasteland that can never be drained nor tamed which provides ample space for campsites.

It's not exactly a hospitable atmosphere: half the rattlesnake bites in the area are suffered in these camps, and besides the alligator problem there are water moccasins, wildcats, coral snakes and a gracious supply of biting insects including bomber-size mosquitos.

Several groups of Venezuelans have had small camps there, also, being trained by Cuban counter-revolutionaries in anti-guerrilla combat tactics — so they could fight back at the Castro guerrillas being introduced into Venezuela.

For a while the U.S. was part of the action. During the 1962 missile crisis, when it was confirmed that Castro did indeed have nuclear warheads aimed at South Florida, the Army put missile installations in the 'Glades, aimed at Havana. And the Bay of Pigs invaders were trained there under CIA's aegis.

Indians — who view the intrusion with equanimity — and the girl scouts. Primitive campers from South Florida as well as neighboring girl scout councils find it a great place from which to observe nature and learn what camping is all about.

Approved For Release 2001/03/04 : CIA-RDP80-01601R000800270001-7  
groups to make the scene at the big swampy campground are the Seminole

# Undercover Cops Police Intelligence Units Step Up Their Watch On the Racial Situation

## Houston Department Places Informers in Black Groups; Negro Leaders Are Critical

## Seeing Reds in Civil Rights

By DAVID BRAND

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

HOUSTON—Charlie Smith, a Negro veteran of Vietnam and now a student at Texas Southern University, has an odd sort of extracurricular job: He's a spy.

Mr. Smith (that's not his real name) isn't concerned with such traditional college administration headaches as campus sex or pot parties or even library book thieves. He's an informer for the Houston police department—and he infiltrates Negro organizations.

Dangerous work? "Man, oh man, you must be kidding," says Mr. Smith. "Sure, it's risky, but I've faced the Vietcong and I'm not afraid of black power."

Mr. Smith joins a growing army of informers recruited by police intelligence agents throughout the country. Police obviously aren't too explicit about how many infiltrators are out spying for them, but intelligence activities are expanding. Detroit's intelligence division increased from zero to 70 officers in seven years, Boston now has 40 agents and even Houston's smaller police force has a 14-man intelligence unit.

Police are concentrating intelligence activities heavily on racial matters these days. Detroit's former police commissioner, Ray Girardin, says that Negro extremists are "becoming increasingly active and a threat to tranquility." As a result, "we are devoting an increasing amount of time and effort just to keep track of what's going on among extremist groups."

"The Men From the CIA"

Houston police are similarly occupied. "Since 1965, we haven't put as much effort into criminal investigation because of this racial thing," says Lt. M. L. Singleton, who heads the intelligence unit. "Around here, we're known as the men from the CIA."

The analogy isn't as farfetched as it might seem, for on a smaller scale Houston's police intelligence unit engages in activities as clandestine—and at times as controversial—as those of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Civil rights activists are trailed, observed from parked cars, photographed by policemen posing as news photographers, tape-recorded by informers and cultivated by undercover agents acting as businessmen or ex-convicts.

And, as with the CIA, Houston police are sometimes accused of overstepping their bounds. A number of prominent Negroes, for instance, are convinced their phones are

tapped. "Every time I pick up my phone," says the Rev. Bill Lawson, a Baptist minister, "a red light goes on somewhere." Police deny the charge.

Many policemen say that the undercover work is essential. Houston Police Chief Herman Short, in fact, says that the intelligence unit is largely responsible for preventing any racial unrest in Houston from blossoming into a full-scale riot. "We've been very effective in combating criminal unrest," he says.

Few arrests have been made as a result of intelligence activity; however, members of the Houston intelligence unit say they provide an important source of information for other police units.

### A Secret Meeting

Many informers "are in danger of their lives," says Mr. Short. His department goes to great lengths to protect infiltrators. Before Charlie Smith can discuss his work with a reporter, a meeting has to be set up in a nondescript building on Houston's outskirts. Mr. Smith, a patrolman and a police intelligence agent separately enter a small room. Finally, the reporter is permitted to join the group, and the door is locked.

Although informers are paid from \$5 to \$400 for a single item of information, Charlie Smith says he's not in this for money.

"I just don't want to see this country burn," he says.

Mr. Smith enrolled in Texas Southern last year, shortly after returning from Army service in Vietnam. University security police with whom he became friendly passed his name on to Patrolmen Charles Howard and Thomas Blair, two Negro intelligence unit members.

He belongs to civil rights groups and reports plans for demonstrations, movements of leaders and "anything that is said at meetings that sounds militant."

### A Fear of Flunking

Police consider the predominantly Negro college as the city's racial cauldron. They say that Houston's only racial riot occurred there in May 1967, when a rookie policeman was killed in a fierce gun battle and hundreds of students were arrested. Since then, police have kept close watch over campus affairs.

Charlie's constant fear is that, if fellow students don't discover his spy role, the faculty will. "You see, even the professors here are involved in the black power movement," he says. "And if they ever found out, they'd flunk me for sure."

One civil rights activist who scoffs at Mr. Smith's spying is Lee Otis Johnson, 28, head of Houston's Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. "Man, we know who those cats (informers) are," he says. "We hold our strategy meeting on Sunday and a public meeting on Monday, and those cats don't know nothing about the strategy meeting. We know more about the police than they know about us."

Houston police have their own views of Mr. Johnson. In interviews, they describe him as "a hate peddler," "Communist" and "anarchist." An undercover agent arrested him last April for the possession and sale of marijuana. He was convicted a few days ago and sentenced to 30 years in prison. He is now in the Houston city jail pending an appeal.

Even civil rights leaders who haven't been arrested—such as the Reverend Mr. Lawson and other activist ministers—are scathingly at-

STATINTL